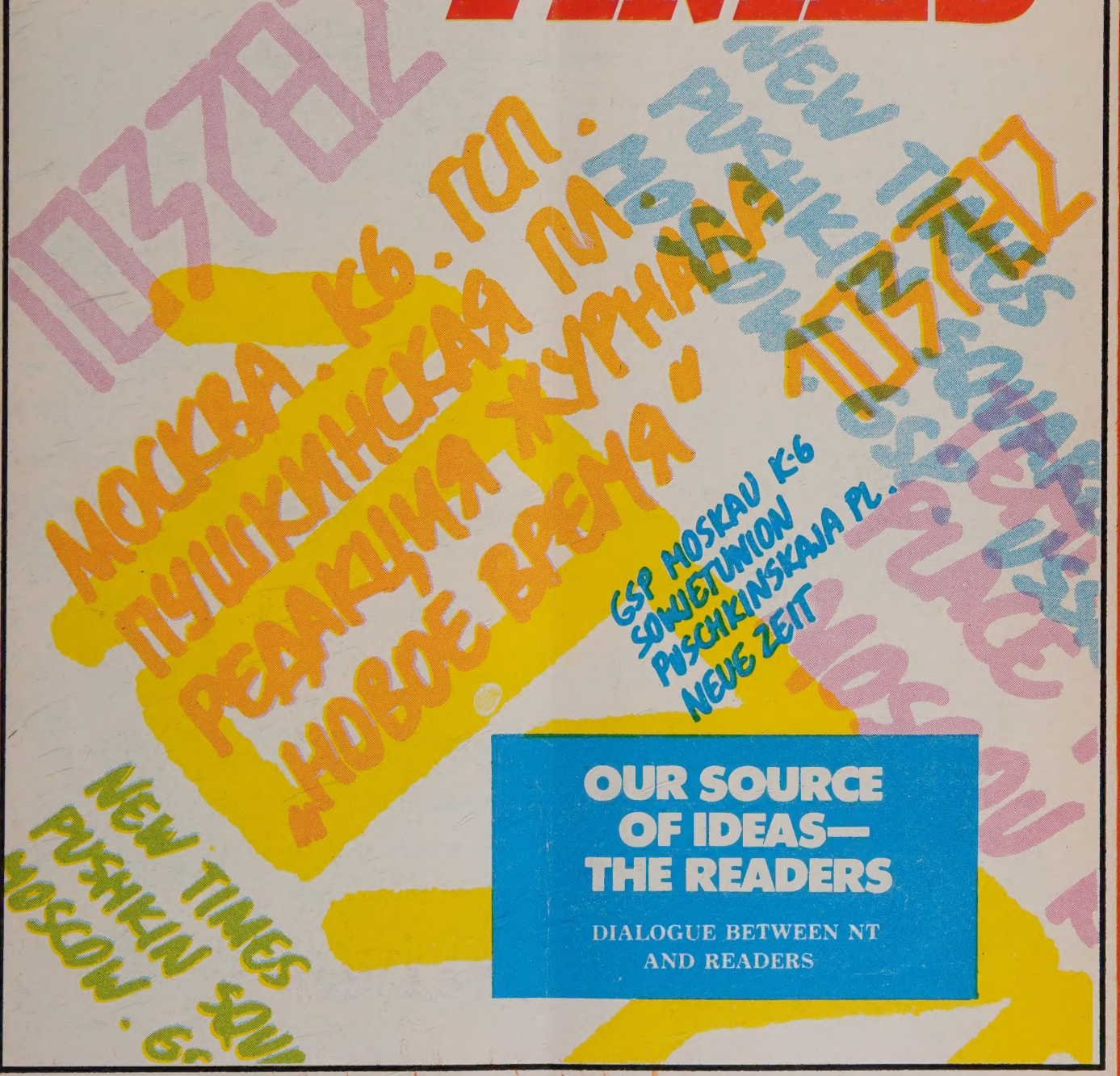
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Islam: new dimension

PROPERTY OF THE LIBRARY
SEP 18 1987
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

NEW TIMES



OUR SOURCE OF IDEAS— THE READERS

DIALOGUE BETWEEN NT AND READERS

SOVIET UNION: PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION

NEW LIGHT ON THE FRANCO MUTINY

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

A boy of about four in a padded jacket far too big for him stumbles, twig in hand, across a field trying to keep up with the horse and harrow. One of the heart-rending scenes witnessed in Soviet villages during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45....

In industry, too, the situation was initially desperate. But by March 1942 military production had reached the prewar level.

In the very first months after Hitler's Germany attacked the U.S.S.R., more than 1,500 big factories were dismantled in the western regions and evacuated eastwards. But that was only half the problem. It was also necessary to get production going again as quickly as possible.

How was that done? The equipment was reassembled at once. Sometimes production had to be restarted in an open field under a marquee. People worked 12-14 hours and slept right next to their machine tools. But they fulfilled and exceeded plans. Soon Soviet industry surpassed German industry both in the volume of production and the quality of arms.

At a munition factory. Packaging shells. ● Aerostats for air defence over Moscow. ● Collective farmers sell grain to the state ahead of schedule.

At the beginning of the war the enemy captured 47 per cent of the country's arable land. Millions of people were torn from the land.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

36 SEPTEMBER 14,1987
FOUNDED 1943

CONTENTS

2
Editorial
ZERO PARTICIPATION

3
Vladimir Zhitomirsky. TIME TO ABANDON COLD-WAR STEREOTYPES

5
Panorama

6
Observer's view
Galina Sidorova. REAGAN QUOTES REAGAN

8
Sri Lanka
Sergei Strokan. PEACE RETURNS TO THE ISLAND

9
Mariam Salganik. MOTHER TERESA: LOVE CAN SAVE THE WORLD

10
U.S.S.R.: restructuring and democracy
THE GOVERNMENT OF A REPUBLIC - AN INSIDE VIEW
Talk with Arslan Atayev, head of managing department of Daghestan Council of Ministers

A monument of ancient culture in Anuradhapura (Sri Lanka).

The Abbess of the Missionaries of Charity, Nobel Prize winner Mother Teresa.

The Danube - a river of cooperation.

12
Religion
Yuri Sedov. ISLAM, A NEW DIMENSION

14
The past and the present
Anatoly Krasikov. NEW LIGHT ON THE FRANCO MUTINY

16
Pages from the history of the October revolution
THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

20
1917-1987. The October revolution and the destinies of the world
Alexei Bukalov. FROM MONARCHY TO REPUBLIC

23
Our Danube expedition
Lev Yelin. BUSY WATERWAY

26
Dialogue between NT and readers

Cover by Igor Shein

The oldest African state - Ethiopia - becomes a republic.
Deputies to the new parliament and guests from many countries gather in Addis Ababa.
The population celebrates the birth of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

20

NEW TIMES

Editor-in-Chief:
V. IGNATENKO

Associate Editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
S. GOLYAKOV,
Y. GUDKOV,
A. PIN,
B. PISHCHIK,
A. PUMPYANSKY

Editor of English Edition:
E. Smirnov

ZERO PARTICIPATION

Western diplomats arrived in New York for the international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development as if for a tournament - another trial of strength in their eternal contest with the East and the South. But they found themselves without a captain - the United States boycotted the conference. Unlike the 148 countries that participated, the U.S. believes that problems of disarmament should be considered separately from those of development.

The allies viewed this move on the part of NATO's senior partner as a tactical manoeuvre, an attack on the U.N., which had prepared the conference. Such moves have not been unusual lately. It is difficult not to recognize that disarmament and development are related and interdependent issues. Educated thinking and political priorities make the recognition of this inevitable.

The desire to switch the funds swallowed up by the arms race to development is prompted by the choice made by the socialist countries in favour of a non--nuclear, non-violent world. Development through disarmament is integral to their concept of an all--embracing system of world peace and security, with these two cardinal problems ranking among those that can be solved only by all of mankind working together, and not by separate blocs, countries, nations, classes or parties. What is required of the most developed and best armed countries is restructuring of their whole policy, the abandonment of national and class egoism, and ideological prejudices. There is no alternative to this. A world order that dooms regions and entire continents to exploitation and lack of righs could produce an explosion no less destructive than a thermonuclear conflict. Only disarmament can provide large funds for development, but a considerable sum could also be derived from ridding the developing countries themselves of the burden of military expenditure. The Soviet Union favours negotiations to limit the sale and supply of conventional armaments. Naturally, this question can be resolved only if the United States responds, and does so with due consideration for the legitimate interests of other countries.

That is an example of global thinking, which is beginning to germinate in the policies of an increasing number of countries. That is why Western representatives at various international forums are finding it increasingly difficult to carry the White - or, to be more exact, the Rich (internationalization of capital!) man's burden: to justify the existence of an immoral and unjust world order.

Had the United States taken part in the conference, what might it have proposed in response to the Soviet initiatives? It would not have been wise to reply to proposals to consider national plans for the conversion of military production to peaceful uses with praise for the "star wars" programme. And if the principle of glasnost is extended to defence expenditure, what about the secret channels of neocolonialist exploitation that allow the imperialist countries to pay their military bills by plundering underdeveloped regions? And how could one insist on the priority interests of creditor countries and multinational corporations when the developing countries see the proposal for a UN Disarmament for Development Fund as an alternative to the dictatorship of the International Monetary Fund, which acts in the Third World as userer and extortionist.

Yes, life is becoming increasingly difficult for those who are forced to explain why the West has not budged from positions held in Kipling's day. Racist theories impressed Tommy Atkins and other builders of colonial empires on which the sun never set. Today they are repeated only perhaps in a confidential face--to-face chat with P.W.Botha, behind closed doors. An aircraft carrier carries no weight as an argument in the Persian Gulf. On East River, it would be totally out of place. The rhetoric heard in justification of those who promoted regional conflicts during the Irangate investigations can appeal, perhaps, only to munitions dealers. It has no appeal for the world public or the developing countries, as they await a solution to their problems.

In the algebra of world politics in 1987, the zero is probably the most widely used symbol. But zeroes can have different meanings. A missile zero and the zero participation of the United States in the UN conference on the relationship between disarmament and development cannot be equated. If the Soviet initiative marks a new stage in the development of interstate relations, the American zero signifies the intellectual failure of those who cling to the dogmas of the past and are therefore incapable of constructive participation in a dialogue on the cardinal problems of our time. But the door remains open.

TIME TO ABANDON COLD-WAR STEREOTYPES

From our special correspondent
VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY

The third conference of the Soviet and American public has finished its work at Chautauqua

We were talking about personal computers. "Do you use the computer in your work?" asked David. "Fortunately, no," I replied tearing myself away from the excellent spaghetti David had cooked. "Or unfortunately, perhaps..."

"I strongly recommend it," he said. "It's the only thing I use."

And at this juncture I shall permit myself a short digression.

In the past few days I have answered lots of questions from Americans: "What is glasnost?", "Perestroika?", "Do you have a family?", "Is your New Times magazine an offshoot of the New York Times?" And once when I came home (that is, to the cottage owned by the hospitable and caring Carsman family who, along with other residents of the town, had put up the guests from the U.S.S.R.) I saw a large group of neighbours gathered in the sitting room. The first question was: "Why is Russia a police state?" I was about to divulge the secret and produce a couple of police batons and handcuffs, and tell them that my policeman's (or militiaman's?) uniform lay folded in my suitcase, but was forestalled by another neighbour who gave the first man a good telling off for parroting such absurdities....

I answered all questions, except one that was twice put to me by my American colleagues and on neither occasion could I find ananswer. The question was: "What has impressed you in America?" I tried to play back the videotape of my impressions. Could it be New York? For almost two days I had been doing the city. The bustling centre of Manhattan, skyscrapers - highrise and arrogant, the squalor of streets like the Bowery, shops packed with goods, six-door Lincolns, moving gracefully in the slow stream of traffic, easily overtaking the so-called "bag-women" - poor elderly women shuffling along the sidewalk carrying bags filled with all their scanty belongings. But I knew all that already. Perhaps too little time had passed for something new to strike me. I was thinking about this when David said: "It's the only thing I use..." I could not imagine that.

David's lectures

David Weissbard, with whom I was visiting at the time, is a preacher. He usually prepared his Sunday sermons, "lectures," as he calls them, with the help of the computer. As a rule, he chooses a topic, shares his ideas with his parishioners (20-25 minutes, 10-12 pages of text, he explains), then there is an exchange of views which sometimes involves a heated discussion. "Such is our Unitarian Church," says David. "It represents the left-wing flank of the various faiths. I believe not in the existence of God but that life is a gift and we each carry responsibility for it."

"What is the topic of your next lecture?" "I will be talking of what I have seen, heard and understood at Chautauqua," he replies. "Is it constructive to accuse the Soviet Union of all mortal sins, lecture it, present an idealized picture of the American way of life? Who are people who behave like that trying to kid...? I am sure the most important thing is to preserve life on earth and do away with the deadly danger. People should look persistently for ways of achieving this, rather than teach other countries how to behave....Each individual should ask himself what he is living for in this world - that is probably the topic I will speak on."

David Weissbard is one of a few thousand people who come in summer to the town of Chautauqua located in the north-west of New York State. The town is not marked even on fairly detailed maps, but it is widely known in America. A little more than a hundred years ago the Chautauqua Institute was set up here, initially as a Sunday school. Gradually the curriculum of studies and the programme of public discussions changed, coming to include issues dealing with economics, culture, sociology. Multicoloured, mainly one- and two-storey cottages were occupied in summer by holiday-makers attracted both by the opportunity to spend their leisure time on the banks of the scenic lake and by the desire to broaden their horizons, and meet famous politicians, scientists and cultural figures. Many U.S. presidents have spoken at the gatherings at Chautauqua.

The year before last, the Board of Chautauqua Institute took an important step and received delegates from the First Conference, representatives of the Soviet and American public. The delegates discussed various aspects of the relations between the two countries. A year later, the Latvian town of Yurmala hosted the conference. Now it is Chautauqua's turn again.

A representative delegation of the Soviet public has arrived here. Valentina Tereshkova, Chairwoman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign countries; Vladimir Petrovsky, U.S.S.R. Deputy Foreign Minister, Colonel-General Nikolai Chervov, Academicians Roald Sagdeyev, Tatyana Zaslavskaya, Evgeny Primakov, workers of the CPSU Central Committee, prominent Soviet scientists, writers, cultural workers, and clergymen. 240 Soviet delegates and over 5 thousand Americans have devoted five days of their lives to a very important matter. They talked about themselves and expounded their views, trying to find out what their counterparts were thinking. In the process they often found themselves in opposition. It could not have been otherwise, for during the "round-table" meetings we frequently heard, "The Soviets should do this and that, change their policies, reorganize their way of life on the model of American democracy...Then we'll see and perhaps also do something." The "round tables" were held openly in the presence of hundreds if not thousands of people. The audiences' response was lively, reacting to the proceedings with either applause or angry shouts. When the official participants in the "round table" had ended their speeches, any one could take a mic-

rophone from the floor and ask a question. Many thus set out their own points of view. But was it always their own? How are our ideas of each other shaped? Who is responsible for the accuracy of the image? Does the freedom of the press entitle anyone to write whatever occurs to him about the other country?

On freedom of the press

This was the topic at one of the "round tables." Journalist Alexander Bovin, who was the first to speak, tried to set a constructive tone at the discussion: "There has never been a free press and never will be if one is absolutely honest. It is impossible to live in a society, and be free from it. There are values that we advocate. I make no secret of the fact that I stand for peace and am opposed to capitalism, that I am for socialism, against evil, and for goodness. This is my system of values. Every journalist preaches the philosophy of life in which he believes... I understand that there are other ideas of the press. But different views of the press should be taken into account."

What was the response of a "round-table" opponent, Newsweek correspondent Robert Cullen? In the best American tradition he declared: "We have freedom of the press, they do not. When they have it they will know it themselves." "I was asked," he went on to say, "should the American press picture Soviet people as people? I'll tell you what: if they want to be pictured as people they should disband a police force designed to scare American journalists working in the U.S.S.R...."

The next to take up the ball was the notorious Nicholas Daniloff, who formerly worked in the Soviet Union as a correspondent for U.S. News and World Report and, at the same time, as a CIA agent. He declared: "Only legal opposition can ensure freedom of the press in a country." Daniloff spiced his talk with what chessplayers call "homework," telling a story about the warden of the prison where he was placed after being caught redhanded. That man, according to Daniloff, had been at the Elbe rendezvous in 1945. And this time, on encountering an American, he allegedly said: "Glad to see you here in jail..." The warden must have said he was just glad to see an American... This produced laughter in the room and many, I am sure, sympathized with the ordeal the noble American journalist had gone through in a country that was muzzling both its own press and foreign reporters.

During the discussions, our delegates repeatedly suggested that a constructive tone should be set at the conference. Vladimir Pozner called for an accurate rather than a distorted image of each other: "If a pimple appears on my face," he said, "and television keeps showing it every day, people could come to the conclusion that that is my real face."

The biased image so scrupulously fostered by the mass media and political intrigue is alive and well. The bugaboo of aggressive Soviets armed to the teeth was trotted out regularly during the discussions on the problems of bilateral relations and regional conflicts. Disarmament? Well, maybe it's not a bad idea. But first Russia must prove that its policy of glasnost is in earnest. Logic goes out the window when propaganda attacks take over.

New thinking, new ideas

Besides the cardinal issues concerning relations between our countries, the experts at the "round table" discussed questions relating to law, religion and medicine. In the evening, the participants in the discussions went to concerts of classical and jazz music, and saw performances by Soviet and American singers and folk dancers. I asked Vladimir Petrovsky, U.S.S.R. Deputy Foreign Minister, to sum up the discussions at Chautauqua.

"What do you see as the meaning of such discussions?"

"They open up the opportunity for the representatives of the international public to learn what attitudes governments take at international conferences and bilateral negotiations, as well as giving them the chance to get to know better each other. This is all the more important as recently many wrong perceptions, to use the language of psychologists, have been created. Here the American side has tried especially hard and produced an image of the Soviet Union that has nothing to do with reality. Now the U.S. participants in the discussions are trying to bring their perceptions and the reality together."

"Are there any dynamics in the meetings between the public of the two countries?"

"Yes, there are. Participants on both sides now prepare for meetings more thoroughly. More authoritative experts are coming to conferences. But there are aspects that worry me personally. I recall that before the meeting in Jurmala, the American side insisted that the conference be covered by the Soviet mass media; this coverage was assured, and the speakers on both sides were televised. Yet, the information made available to the American public here at Chautauqua doesn't hold a candle to the attention attached to such events by the press and television in the U.S.S.R. working in the conditions of openness. Are they scared of real openness and glasnost here, I wonder?"

"Do the meetings of the public have any impact on political decision-making and vice versa: does the political situation affect the atmosphere of such discussions?"

"In the contemporary world this interrelation is inevitable. The degree to which it is manifested depends, of course, on the degree of responsibility of the government, and its respect for public opinion both at home and in other countries. As for the U.S.S.R., in formulating its foreign policy, the Soviet Union scrupulously takes into account both Soviet and foreign public opinion. For instance, at the Moscow forum scientists advanced a series of ideas concerning nuclear arms tests control, and these ideas have been integrated into our official policy. The Delhi Six put forward concrete proposals. We studied them carefully and gave them our support. We hold that by heeding the voice of the international public a country enriches itself. But this calls for new thinking, the abandonment of a hidebound selfish view of the world, and treating international realities from the standpoint of a member of the international community. This, unfortunately, cannot be said of the American side. It is still going by cold war stereotypes, regarding all that the other side proposes as inadmissible. A blatant new example is provided by the attitude to the proposal advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev on a Security Council summit meeting. The State Department has not even found it necessary to study the initiative and has promptly brushed it off.

"Summing up, I'd like to say that it would be useful if conferences like this one here at Chautauqua were also to be held in the future and perfected to promote improved relations between our two countries, mutual understanding worldwide and the establishment of trust in the broadest sense of the word."

* * *

In Chautauqua, sobriety has always been considered a virtue. The consumption of alcohol in public places is prohibited.

Throughout the conference sobriety of judgement characterized the contributions of many participants and experts. Against the background of the changes under way there, declared Senator Bill Bradley, it was incumbent on the U.S. to alter its perception of the Soviet Union. When U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead spoke of a future without confrontation, suspicion and hostility, thousands of people filling the huge auditorium greeted his words with heartfelt applause. But a sober assessment suggests that to achieve this there still remains a great deal to be done.

Chautauqua

F.R.G.

Hot potato

● FEDERAL CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE F.R.G. IS LIKELY TO REFUSE TO MODERNIZE THE 72 WEST GERMAN PERSHING 1A MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH U.S. NUCLEAR WARHEADS AND THAT THEY MAY SUBSEQUENTLY BE LIQUIDATED.

However, he has made the move conditional on a whole range of preliminaries - a Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, the ratification of such an agreement, and concrete steps to implement it. The Chancellor went on to emphasize that his government is still opposed to the issue of the West German Pershings being considered in the framework of Soviet-U.S. talks on the "global double zero."

The conditions to which Helmut Kohl has linked the prospect of the liquidation of the Bundeswehr Pershings, and the absence of a government statement on the question in the Bundestag, give grounds for doubting the sincerity of Bonn leadership's intentions in this respect.

For all the reservations, however, the Chancellor's statement reflects a certain shift in the F.R.G. stand on the Bundeswehr missiles with U.S. nuclear warheads. In this country, this has been appreciated and will be studied in depth.

Objectively, the shift in the F.R.G. stand could make for a speedier agreement between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The problem, however, is that at the Soviet-American talks on the liquidation of intermediate-range weapons, it is not West German Pershings but their U.S. warheads that are being discussed. Both have long been reminiscent of a hot potato on which both the U.S. and the F.R.G. are afraid to burn their fingers, instead of doing away with the problem once and for all. Meanwhile, it is obvious that the "global double zero" option is out of the question if warheads belonging to the U.S. are not scrapped.

Inasmuch as the statement admits that the Pershing warheads are controlled by the U.S., the issue should be

The Karlsson, that lives on the roof! Strange...how did he get within the range of our Blowpipes!

Drawing by Vsevolod Arsenyev

resolved at the Soviet-American talks on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range missiles. Helmut Kohl's present stand could facilitate the search for mutually acceptable solutions in Geneva. The ball is now in the U.S. court. Regrettably the other side has not yet responded to the new situation in concrete terms.

Certain circles in the U.S., the F.R.G. and some other Western countries characterize the move as a "compromise," aimed at overcoming the "barriers the Soviet Union is intentionally raising" in the way of a Soviet-American agreement on intermediate-range missiles. Incidentally, this is how Kohl himself has presented it. And it is not the Soviet side, which has taken a clear-cut stand from the outset, but U.S. and F.R.G. leaders who have complicated the Geneva talks by obscuring the national "identity" of the nuclear warheads on West German carriers.

Clearly, the Kohl government has had to disregard the resistance of the right and give in to pressure from political forces in the F.R.G. and elsewhere that have seen the former stand on the Pershing 1As as a serious obstacle both to the talks on the "global double zero" option and to political and military détente in Europe.

ROSTISLAV ZOLOTAREV

JAPAN

Evidence of U.S. nuclear presence

● NAUTILUS, THE AMERICAN CIVIC GROUP STUDYING ISSUES CONCERNING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, HAS DISCOVERED A CLASSIFIED DOCUMENT OF THE U.S. ARMED FORCES COMMAND IN THE PACIFIC ZONE,DATED MAY 8, 1984.

In the document, the Commander, Admiral William Crow (now Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff,) instructs his subordinates in countries in the Pacific region to work out jointly with the local governments and U.S. ambassadors accredited there, contingency plans to be used in the event of any incident with American nuclear weapons. Along with the Philippines, Thailand, South Korea, Australia, and Fiji, the document also mentions Japan.

Tokyo's stand on this is well known: since the American side has not consulted with the Japanese government concerning the entry of nuclear arms, there are no such arms on Japanese soil. It now transpires that the U.S. has never contemplated asking Japan to approve the deployment of nuclear arms on its territory. According to the above document, the Americans will deign to consult with the Japanese government only if a nuclear accident occurs in Japan. In that case it would be necessary to recover or remove all evidence of incident as expeditiously as possible.

Who in Japan will foot the nuclear bill? The Directive of the U.S. Pacific Fleet Admiral dated July 30, 1982 (which has similarly taken into the hands of the Nautilus group) prescribes that such an incident be cleared by means of special groups dealing with explosives. These groups are responsible for ensuring the safety of storage and transportation for chemical and nuclear weapons as well as for conventional high-yield explosives.

Peter Hays, a member of the Nautilus group, says that the contents of both documents imply that either nuclear weapons are present in Japan or have been shipped through its territory. But in Tokyo, this is stubbornly denied.

"We don't know anything about a consultation procedure. Japan is sticking firmly to the three non-nuclear principles and the U.S. respects them, therefore the entry of nuclear weapons is out of the question," a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of Japan stated when questioned by newsmen immediately after the report came from Washington. The response is typical. There was a similar reaction in the spring when representatives of the Japanese Communist party discovered that the document had originated at the U.S. State Department and concerned U.S. nuclear policy on the Japanese Islands. (See New Times, Nos 16, 22.)

The admission would mean the downfall of the go-

Reagan quotes Reagan

"Will there be a summit this year? Will a Soviet-American agreement on medium-range and shorter-range missiles be signed?" an American colleague of mine asked me recently when we met in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press centre. I would have liked to answer "yes" to both questions. The obstacles to agreement looked as if they were being gradually removed. In mid-September the Soviet Foreign Minister is to meet his American counterpart in Washington. Common sense tells us that this is the natural and necessary course events should take. But I didn't feel sure. I could only hope....

And then from Los Angeles came the familiar refrain: the Soviet Union must, the Soviet Union should, Soviet expansion... Three days later, in the President's radio address to Americans, came: "Today America and the Soviet Union are adversaries, as we have been since shortly after the second world war."

The President looked back on history, a subject he has never been particularly strong in. He recalled the Trumman doctrine. He recalled the 1970's when, in his opinion, American foreign policy was on the decline. He charged Moscow with full responsibility for the "cold war" and the arms race.

Having blamed us for events in the past, he then turned to the present. He doesn't like Soviet glasnost, as it is not modelled on the American pattern of democracy. Still no human rights. And it seems the Soviet Union is responsible for regional conflicts. And Moscow is also stalling on a disarmament agreement. Indeed, there seems little point in continuing to reiterate the President's well-worn clichés. I'll merely add that this time he devoted his special attention to the development of SDI technology, which, according to him, in conjunction with a revised strategy fc nuclear deterrence, will save the world.

To make sure that we understood what

vernment as the majority of the Japanese resolutely reject nuclear arms. However, Yasuhiro Nakasone's mandate expires in two months' time. The closer the time for this replacement as cabinet head, the more frequently evidence appears that American nuclear weapons are present in Japan. Why have all these documents been declassified in the U.S.? What if the leak of information (and the Americans are adept at arranging such leaks) is being used to get the Japanese people to give up their naive belief in the gentlemanly behaviour of their overseas partner, which purports to respect the three non-nuclear principles? Nakasone has nothing to lose - he will vacate his post in any case - but it will make things easier for others. It will be easier for Japan and the U.S. to talk with the nuclear card on the table.

Needless to say, this is only an assumption. But, judging from the public opinion polls, there are very few naive Japanese who seriously believe that U.S. nuclear armaments are not present in Japan.

VLADIMIR OVSYANNIKOV,
our own correspondent
Tokyo

AIR

SPACE

Just seconds to spare

DETAILS HAVE NOW EMERGED OF THE NEAR-ACCIDENT IN THE AIR SPACE OVER NEW YORK WHEN AN AMERICAN FIGHTER CAME DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO A SOVIET IL-62M AIRLINER AS IT APPROACHED KENNEDY AIRPORT.

The commander of the airliner Edward Ruga, first class pilot, gave the details:

"Flight 315 from Moscow to New York was nearly over. We had begun to lose height when suddenly we noticed an aircraft coming almost straight at us from an angle of 250 degrees. Another moment or so and collision would have been inevitable. It looked like a fighter plane. It turned immediately by 90 degrees and passed 50-100 metres from our right side. We only had time to notice that it was grey. The altimeter showed 5,500 feet.

"We informed the control tower. And in about 10 seconds we received their reply "message received." Then we were instructed to make a landing.

"One small point is interesting. Before we noticed the fighter plane, the Americans told us that they could not see us and asked us to check the automatic reply that identifies the plane on the radar screen. We checked: everything was normal, as it had been throughout the flight. On our return home our people checked the instrument very thoroughly and their verdict was that everything was all right...."

A copy of the tape of the Soviet pilots' conversation with ground control at the time of the incident has just been received from the United States. It confirms that at the moment of danger the Soviet crew acted correctly. In general, two planes coming too close to each other is a fairly frequent occurrence over Kennedy Airport. There are two or three cases a day, usually involving private planes. Some of them do bear a resemblance to fighter planes....American air space became less safe after the Reagan administration sacked 11,500 air controllers in 1981 for taking part in a strike and replaced them with less qualified people. According to the statistics of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), mishaps and accidents on domestic lines occur almost daily. On July 8, for instance, two passenger airliners all but collided over the Atlantic, passing each other at a distance of only 100 feet (just over 30 metres!). And last year a private plane crashed into an Aeromexico airliner over Cerritos.

What measures are being taken to prevent air collisions? This summer the U.S. National Transportation Safety Board studied the problem. Its chairman James Burnett called on the FAA temporarily to restrict air traffic. His plea was rejected: everyting remains as it was.

BORIS BALKAREY

Reagan was driving at, three hours before the speech a senior White House spokesman told journalists that it would give the President's political views on East-West relations, peace, the need for a strong defence and freedom.

Of course there was nothing unexpected in the Los Angeles speech. But it does provide food for thought.

It is interesting that the President's speech coincided with reports on a new American stand on control and verification at the talks on medium- and shorter-range missiles. As soon as the spectre of Soviet inspectors at American nuclear sites for purposes of verification appeared, the United States changed its stand on control and verification. A new proposal was put on the table envisaging considerably fewer on-site and impromptu inspections. "Let's not complicate matters," Washington said, as soon as the Soviet Union had agreed in principle to comprehensive control. That reminded me of the words of an American participant in the SALT-1 negotiations: "Barely had the Soviet side agreed to an American proposal when we immediately forgot it and put a new one on the table, often contradicting the old one."

In politics there is a different name for this game. And it is designed in the main for domestic consumption. As soon as the first signs of better Soviet-American relations appear, the right immediately begins to warn against any rapprochement with Moscow. That happened before the Geneva meeting, and again before Reykjavik. Usually it was a member of the Presidential entourage who issued the gloomy warnings. This time Reagan-the-Dove was opposed by Reagan-the-Hawk. A further reason for which the President needed to resort to such tactics was that his reputation as a strong and confident leader had been severely undermined by Irangate, even among his Conservative friends.

The rhetoric of the latest speech was perhaps milder than usual. Still the President did not forget to refer to the man who is in his eyes the greatest anti-communist authority - himself. He quoted his own speech in the British parliament five years ago.

So Reagan's crusade against Communism continues. In this respect the President is consistent. And if anybody had any doubts about his unchanging political views on East-West relations, there were none here - in Moscow.

But the changes in the world since the beginning of the 1980's, the new Soviet approaches to domestic and foreign problems, our growing interdependence - whether the White House wants it or not - are beginning to bear fruit. Although still bound by mutual distrust, prejudice and intolerance, in some things we are already moving closer to each other.

Will the signing of the agreement and the meeting - so looked forward to by all - take place? We cannot be sure. But we can hope.

GALINA SIDOROVA

Peace returns to the island

It can now be said with absolute assurance that the situation has drastically changed in Sri Lanka, whose north and east have for four years been ravaged by civil war. Long-awaited peace is returning to the country as a result of the resolute efforts of India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Junius Yayawardene of Sri Lanka who, on July 29, signed an agreement in Colombo providing for joint action by the two countries to settle the ethnic conflict on the island between the Tamils and the Sinhalese.*

The agreement has won the firm support of the left, democratic forces in Sri Lanka. At the same time, many opponents of the agreement have emerged: the bourgeois opposition and the Buddhist clergy, the most serious consequence being that extremists in the ranks of the Sinhalese chauvinists have stepped up their activity. Suffice it to say that they have already made attempts on the lives of both leaders who concluded the agreement.

The riots late in July in Colombo and some other towns are notorious for the acts of vandalism, pogrom and arson committed by those attempting in this way to express their objections to the terms of the agreement.

How is the implementation of the agreement going? A ceasefire was achieved almost at once. An approximately seven-thousand-strong army contingent arrived in Sri Lanka in accordance with the terms of the agreement to monitor the disarmament of the Tamil militants and keep law and order in the northern and eastern regions populated by the Tamils.

The country waited with bated breath to see how the Tamil armed factions would behave. Soon Vellupillai Prabhakaran, leader of the major faction "Tigers of Tamil Eelam" told a vast rally in Jaffna: "The Tigers will surrender arms. We do this in the interest of peace." On surrendering, every ex-militant was given a document signed personally by the President, granting him amnesty. The surrender of arms is still going on in some regions. According to reports, army warehouses are already filled to capacity and more are needed.

Tamil militants have already surrendered large quantities of firearms, under the surveillance of Indian peace-keeping force.

Photo from Time magazine (U.S.A.)

The country witnessed the impossible when the Tigers, the fanatics bent on setting up a separate independent Tamil state, who would rather die than be taken prisoner (each had a cyanide capsule sewn to his collar), gave up their arms. The local press unexpectedly discovered that the "Tiger" was not as terrible as local caricaturists had long been picturing him. And it seemed fantastical when newspaper The Island reported that former Tigers were working hard with Buddhist monks to restore temples destroyed during hostilities.

The authorities continue to release from jails those arrested at various times in accordance with the anti-terrorist law. About two thousand people have already been set free. The Tigers, for their part, have recently freed several members of the security forces taken prisoner during the conflict.

Sri Lanka has had enough time to appreciate the great advantages offered by peace. In the Northern and Eastern provinces, many refugees have returned to their native places and feel the happiness of being home. Peasants who had hid for a long time in the jungles have returned to their usual work. Rebuilding has started in the town of Jaffna, which had been under siege for years and suffered serious damage as a result of the offensive operations mounted by the security forces. Streets are now bustling whereas previously people preferred to stay indoors. The Northern and Eastern provinces are now open to travellers.

The change in the situation in the north and the east is also having an impact on the southern regions of the country. After a lengthy break railway and bus connections have resumed between Colombo and Jaffna. In the capital vegetables, fruit, fish and other foods cost less as they are being supplied from northeastern provinces.

But this peace is, naturally, fragile. As yet, for having put an end to Tamil extremism, the government is now facing a new problem, rapidly growing Sinhalese chauvinism.

The India-Sri Lanka agreement has not pleased everyone abroad. The right-wing U.S. organization the Heritage Foundation has published a report entitled "A Key Role for the U.S. in Changing Sri Lanka" in which it points out with alarm that the U.S. stands to lose much by the accord.

Sri Lanka is going through what is at once a happy and dramatic period as it returns to peace. Yet there is still a grave struggle ahead.

SERGEI STROKAN

Colombo, September

*The essence of the conflict and the terms of the agreement reached are featured in New Times No 33 for 1987.

Mother Teresa:

Love can save the world

The word "charity" has disappeared from our lexicon so completely that the very sound of it seems somehow archaic.

Reaching out to the cosmos, probing the macro- and micro-worlds, preoccupied with and priding ourselves on our achievements, we seem to have lost sight of, relegated to the background, the universe within us. As if we have forgotten that not only the brain and the hands but also the soul of humankind is the result of evolution.

Little by little, shamefacedly at first, we have classified simple human feeling as "sentimentality," unnecessary for modern man, indeed even harmful, because given free rein it might actually influence purely rational decision-making, both on individual and state levels.

It is the deep-seated conviction that the socialist society is duty bound to care for each of its members literally from birth to the grave, in combination with moral slackness that breeds that social inertia which today is one of the problems our perestroika has to contend with.

But I began to speak of charity. Charity - the antipode of indifference and social inertia.

The ocassion for bringing this up was the visit to our country of Mother Teresa and my coversation with her. It was brief, but it afforded much food for thought.

Who is Mother Teresa?

Mother Teresa is the abbess of the Missionaries of Charity of which she is the founder, a Doctor of Theology and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, which was awarded to her in 1979 for activity in aid of "suffering mankind."

One's first impression of her is startling. How small and frail is this little old lady with the wrinkled, sun-tanned peasant face! Were it not for the white Indian sari with the blue-and-white fringe - the habit of the sisterhood of the Missionaries of Charity - you might take her for one of those old peasant women you see travelling in buses on our dusty, endless country roads, with bulky bags at their feet, and their hands resting heavily on their knees.

What hands Mother Teresa has - disproportionately large hardworking hands, swollen at the joints! Can these be the hands of a Doctor of Theology, a Nobel Prizewinner?

"We do everything with our hands," she says. "Our life is not only a calling, it is hard work, because charity is love in action."

Mother Teresa preaches the philosophy of small deeds.

"Your help may be extremely modest, but it should be given with much love. It may even be just a smile, because a smile carries a message of peace or an outstreched hand, because it is a symbol of love. People are hungry for love, everyone wants to love and be loved, to know that someone needs him, that there is someone he can call his own. But nowadays people have no time even to look at one another, and so a kind smile is a great gift, and compassion is a priceless gift."

And she tells a story she likes to repeat about how in a London street she noticed a man who looked very sad, and she went up to him and took his hand.

"His hand was so cold," Mother Teresa says, "He started with surprise and said: 'If you only knew how long it is since I felt human warmth.'"

Mother Teresa speaks of the simplest things in the simplest words, but she has every right to this infinite simplicity.

Besides, all great truths are simple to the point of banality. But it is no banality to abide by them.

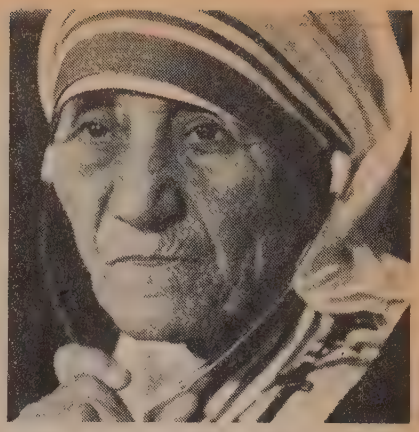
Mother Teresa was born in 1910 in Skopje in a very well-to-do Albanian family. Her given name is Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu, she considers Serbian to be her native language and understands Russian quite well. The Balkan wars, and then the first world war shifted her native town to another country and scattered her family far and wide. Agnes found herself in Ireland and as a young girl she took the vows in the Catholic order of the Irish Sisters of Loretto. In 1929, now as Sister Teresa, she went to India, where she taught geography in a mission school for girls.

But her true mission of charity began fifteen years later in the hell of the Calcutta slums. Working at first alone and then with the help of her pupils, many of whom became sisters of the Missionaries of Charity, Mother Teresa picked up the dying in the streets. Not only those she sought to bring back to life but even the doomed for whom a word of compassion was all they could hope for before the end.

She founded a Home for Dying Destitutes, then a home for orphans and abandoned children, and later hospitals and schools.

Today there are 2,800 Missionaries of Charity in 77 countries.

In India there is the custom for people to make pilgrimages to persons known for their nobility of spirit, just to gaze at them, if only from a distance. This is called "darshan," gazing, and it is believed that the one who gazes if only



briefly at such a person will share some of his spiritual greatness.

I felt something in the nature of "darshan" as I watched the documentary film "Mother Teresa." It shows Mother Teresa's hands skilfully and untiringly massaging the chest of a sick child brought out of besieged Beirut, you see the little face that had been twisted with pain gradually smoothing out and a spark of life returning to the dark eyes.

There are sequences taken in drought-stricken Ethiopia, in Guatemala after an earthquake, in filthy slums elsewhere, in America, and in bomb-wrecked Beirut, where Mother Teresa picked up and by some miracle managed to take out there sixty maimed and sick children.

The film was shot over a period of five years by two American documentary film makers, Ann and Jeanette Petrie; the text was written and read by Richard Attenborough, author of the famous film "Gandhi."

"Mother Teresa" had its premiere at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, and the papers reported that the hall gave it a standing ovation. So did the audience at its showing at the 15th Moscow Film Festival where it was awarded a special prize by the Soviet Peace Committee.

I saw the picture at a press conference in Moscow. I do not know how many more film awards it will get, but I believe that the minute of silence before the storm of applause broke out was the highest form of recognition for its makers.

"I am grateful for this splendid gift," Mother Teresa said at the press conference, "and for the invitation to come to the Soviet Union. I have dreamed of this for many years and now today, thanks be to God, I am here among you. God created man for one purpose - that he should love and that others should love him. There are many hungry and homeless people in the world today. But there is hunger not only for a piece of bread, but also for warmth and affection, and homelessness is not only the lack of a roof over one's head, but also a sense of being unwanted and abandoned. As terrible as was the famine in Ethiopia we were able to distribute food and saved many lives. But how to ease the

sufferings of the lonely, the unwanted, the deprived, the sick, the lepers or those stricken by that dreadful new disease AIDS, all those cast out by society as useless? This is the famine of today. You and I are called upon to be charitable to these people. One need not seek to perform great deeds, small deeds will suffice, but they must be done with love.

"...I have visited the place where the people who suffered from the Chernobyl accident and had to leave their native parts have been resettled. I was happy to see the concern and attention they are receiving, the compassion for what they went through. I was told how in the hour of that fearful disaster people rushed to their assistance. That is splendid, the love that inspires people to come to the aid of others in distress."

Perhaps we have been yearning for an opportunity to be charitable? To be kind, to be good, not just by salving our conscience with a dispassionate gesture, but the lending a direct hand, by helping out of the fullness of our hearts? Perhaps we have been wishing for an outlet to the lofty feeling of compassion, without waiting for some bureaucratic instructions, but at the bidding of our hearts, abiding by the age-old traditions of charitableness, for the good of man and hence for the good of our entire society? Let us not forget that charity helps both him who needs it and him who selflessly renders it.

We all welcomed the founding of the Lenin Children's Fund; why, then, not think of founding a charity fund whose members could spend an hour or two a week helping in hospitals, in old age homes, or in children's homes, visiting the lonely and the sick? A great many people would surely be willing to do that. After all, Mother Teresa was right when she said: to love is happiness!

"Love cannot be confined to one's own country, or to any one country, we are all bound to one another, we belong to one another and are obliged to help one another," Mother Teresa emphasizes. "That is the meaning of the fight for peace, and humanity was never in such need of peace as it is today."

She considers India her second home land, and mankind her family. For Mother Teresa that is not just a phrase, she never utters pompous phrases. It is her credo, confirmed by the labour of a lifetime.

She who has witnessed so much pain and suffering, says to newsmen:

"You must try to write about the beauty of life, to bring people joy, love and hope, for man is born to live in joy and peace. Peace in the home and peace in the world."

It is difficult to convey the strength of Mother Teresa's faith, her conviction that love will save the world. Perhaps we stand in less need of our daily bread than of love, charity and forgiveness, she says.

MARIAM SALGANIK

The government of a republic—an inside view

How do the supreme bodies of executive power in the U.S.S.R. organize their work? This is the subject of an interview given by Arslan Atayev, D. Sc. (Econ.), head of the managing department of the Council of Ministers of the Daghestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, to New Times commentator Vladimir Kvint, a leading research fellow at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics.

N.T.: You head the managing department of the Council of Ministers of Daghestan, which is effectively the republic's state apparatus. It would be interesting to many readers to learn about the organizational framework and functions of the staff of a republican government, especially as the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee at a recent meeting stressed the need to raise the efficiency of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., the Councils of Ministers of the union and autonomous republics, and their staffs.

Atayev: A Council of Ministers is led by a Chairman, while the government's staff is headed by the head of the managing department, who is a member of the government and of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. The managing departments of a Council of Ministers are an umbrella for all the departments making up the government's staff. These include an organizational-and--supervisory department; an economic department; a department for the development of economic management; departments for industry, transport and communications; construction, the trading industry and consumer services, housing and public utilities, education, culture and science; public health and social security; a legal department; a personnel department; a general department and a supply department.

The managing departments of the Councils of Ministers exercise systematic control over the fulfilment of Party and government decisions by ministries and state committees, in the interests of the country as a whole.

This is a vital and laborious work. The managing department of the Council of Ministers of Daghestan monitors progress in carrying out the state plan for economic and social development, analyzes the performance of economic sectors, identifies important inter-branch and regional problems, and drafts government decisions.

N.T.: Could you tell us what affairs you've had to tackle today in your capacity of head of the managing department?

Atayev: I have looked into 12 government ordinances and regulations, and 38 letters and requests from ministries, departments and the executive committees of district and city Soviets of People's Deputies. Of the latter portion, I have set aside 12 to be examined by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and his deputies and took decisions on 26 letters (forwarding some of them to other authorities with instructions to take appropriate action), including five letters re-routed to ministries, two sent to the State Supply Committee, two to the Makhachkala (capital of Daghestan) municipality, and four to our own staff. Moreover, I have signed a cash plan for the State Bank's branches in 50 districts and cities for the last quarter of 1987.

N.T.: So much in one day?

Atayev: A bit too much perhaps. Sometimes up to their ears in day-to-day business, managing departments have actually time to verify the implementation of only the more important government resolutions, while neglecting many others.

Lenin saw the principal failing of the Council of People's Commissars as letting itself get bogged down in petty details and failing to organize checks on work done, and in the weakness of its managing department. He urgently recommended that they must go all about to "get rid of trivialities, teaching the people's commissariats to settle minor matters themselves and answer for them more strictly."

According to my estimates, at least 15 or 20 per cent of the decisions passed by the Councils of Ministers could well

be taken by ministries, departments and the executive committees of Soviets of People's Deputies themselves. They continue to submit poorly prepared proposals and fairly often these have to be either sent back for review or submitted for consideration to a competent agency. This increases the already copious flow of paperwork. Suffice it to say that we process between 20,000 and 100,000 documents a year. This kind of paper shuffling definitely needs to be cut back, and our work in general made more efficient.

Recent decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers have given us the opportunity to do that. We on the government's staff now have to use it adequately and organize our work in a scientifically-based manner.

The Council of Ministers receives many letters from ministries and municipalities on matters that are entirely within their own province. My view is that such letters should be returned without being considered. They are due to the particular ministers' reluctance to work on their own or to hammer out matters between themselves, and to their readiness to pass responsibility on to the government. Moreover, some of these officials attempt to apply the whole weight of their authority so as to get matters resolved in accordance with the principle: he who has more rights is right. This must not be allowed. The law must be observed and honoured by everyone, from engineers to ministers and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

N.T.: It can be concluded from what you've said that the head of the managing department is a sort of traffic-control officer posted where a thousand roads cross....

Atayev: Yes, something of the sort. I control the flow of all important correspondence, deciding which question is to be taken care of by whom, a ministry or a department, selecting matters to be submitted for consideration to the Chairman or his deputies, and determining which issues are to be put before the Council of Ministers and which before its Presidium, and work on which resolution and by which agency is to be checked. I also have to specify the tasks of every department for a given period, coordinate their activities, and resolve their disagreements with ministries and other economic agencies. The head of the managing department should abide by principle, and take a statesmanlike approach. Otherwise, he would not be up to his responsibilities as head of the managing department as he would push the whole workload over onto the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

N.T.: The chiefs of staff of the Councils of Ministers are subordinate to the Chairmen of the Councils of Ministers. And what kind of relationship do they have with the managing departments of the Councils of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Russian Federation?

Atayev: We keep constantly in touch, of course, with the managing departments of the Councils of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Russian Federation. However, we get more instructions than effective assistance from them, especially when it comes to improving the way our work is organized. It is desirable that executives at local level have an opportunity to work at least for a month as trainee members of the staffs of superior managing departments. This would help upgrade their knowledge and enhance their sense of responsibility.

N.T.: How do the chiefs of staff of the Councils of Ministers interact with the heads of ministries?

Atayev: I would like to add that, in my opinion, the role of ministers and their accountability for the advancement of their particular sectors have over the past 10-15 years decreased. This has been due to constant interference in their affairs by many other agencies and officials. Mind you, the ministers are not just economic managers, they are national or republican ministers vested with tremendous authority and reponsible for the state of affairs in their fields. They are the generals of their respective sectors. What happens in practice, however? In union and autonomous republics between 20 and 40 officials may demand of a minister that he decide this or that issue. These matters take up most of the minister's time. It is imperative that these officials be given greater independence and made more strictly accountable for how things stand in their respective sectors.

N.T.: What have you to say about the interaction of Party and local government bodies in economic management today? Are there any problems?

Atayev: This is a very complex and important question. Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed that Party bodies, while considering and charting the general, more important, long-term directions in national economic development, should not meddle in day-to-day organizing activities by local government, state and economic agencies.

In practice, alas, Party bodies do get involved in daily economic affairs. And the lower the level of a Party, local government and economic management hierarchy, the more extensive, as experience shows, is their direct interference. In the course of such interference, Party bodies neglect their controlling functions and become directly involved in economic decision-making, which is at odds with the policy of restructuring.

N.T.: For a long time the enterprises subordinate to higher bodies were not answerable to local authorities. They resembled embassies, whose premises are governed by the law of the distant country they represent. Not infrequently, such enterprises acted like discourteous guests, by making irrational use of local natural resources and polluting the environment. Now economic production boards are to be set up at district and regional levels to supervise and coordinate the activities of the enterprises subordinate to different ministries. But are these really expedient in the republics, considering the fact that they have Councils of Ministers of their own?

Atayev: For the main economic production boards to be efficient, it is essential to determine their functions and the relationships of the different participating agencies in an optimal way. It is clearly advisable to concentrate material, financial and technical resources in the hands of these boards, or otherwise they will be nothing more than "paper" agencies without power and influence: he who pays the piper calls the tune. As far as autonomous republics are concerned, what is needed there, I think, is to increase the role of the local State Planning Committees, broaden the rights of the Councils of Ministers and their staffs, and deprive the enterprises subordinate to higher authorities of their extraterritoriality.

N.T.: Can the Councils of Ministers of autonomous republics be seen effectively as regional economic councils of the 1920s to which all enterprises and organizations, regardless of their sectoral affiliation, were subordinate?

Atayev: Regional economic councils have always been purely economic bodies. For the Councils of Ministers in republics to acquire all the rights of regional economic councils and be really in control of the economies in their areas, the enterprises subordinate to higher agencies should also be made subordinate to them. Of the 300 or so amalgamations and enterprises currently found in the territory of Daghestan, 30 per cent are subordinate to over 20 different union-level bodies, 50 to 60 per cent to the higher agencies of the Russian Federation, and merely 15 to 20 per cent to local authorities. So long as they are divided into "yours" and "ours", it is impossible to achieve proper coordination and control.

It seems to me that day-to-day control over enterprises will be exercised more efficiently by territorial bodies than by ministries located not infrequently thousands kilometres away.

Islam, a new dimension

YURI SEDOV

The Islamic University in the Gaza strip has two entrances: one for men, the other for women. Under pressure from Islamic fundamentalists, the population here has a strictly imposed segregated educational system, and men and women are isolated from each other in libraries and cafeterias. Female students have to wear somber Oriental dress.

In 1979 the Pakistani authorities, in pursuance of the Islamization policy, introduced a law according to which those who steal have their hand cut off, adulterers are stoned, and public flogging is meted out for any small offence.

The paradox of the late 20th century

There is a paradox in the fact that the 20th century, which has gone down in history as an age of rapid scientific and technological progress, is coming to a close against the background of the growing impact of the religious factor, Islamic included, on social development and international relations. Islam is spreading beyond the mosque. In the 1970s and 1980s, a wave of mass movements using Islamic slogans spread through many Afro-Asian countries.

Is it the unique qualities of this religion, as Muslim theologians claim, that account for the flare-up of the current "Islamic bellicosity"? Indeed Islam, by virtue of its features, has penetrated ideology and politics, social and family relations more deeply than other religions. The Christian idea, with its "render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, unto God the things that are God's," is completely alien to Islam, which teaches that "all belongs to Almighty Allah." This concept creates the prerequisites, on the one hand, to politicize Islam and, on the other, to infuse Islam into politics.

Historical experience bears out, however, that the contemporary "Islamic boom" stems primarily from social and class-related processes in the states where the Muslim religion is traditionally observed.

A scientific analysis shows that Islam becomes an especially strong political force at critical stages of social evolution, those turning points when the Muslim population, with its traditionally ardent religious belief, is trying to find a way out of socio-economic, political and military crises. It is in just this condition that the developing nations have been since the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Decolonization and political independence did not automatically lead to prosperity.

In the Arab countries the problem was aggravated by their inability to give a rebuff to the Israeli aggression. The Arabs' defeat in the six-day war of 1967 acted as a kind of catalyst for the rise of religious feeling. The conflict resulted in great territorial, economic and human losses, as well as in ceding East Jerusalem.

The Arabs saw the only way out in a return to "true" faith in Allah and the "golden age" of early Islam. It is in this "true Islam" that many Muslims see the reason for their flourishing in the Middle Ages.

The leaders of the Muslim countries could not ignore this objective process. But they responded differently. President Nasser of Egypt and a number of other present-day Arab leaders used and are using its growing potential to step up the Arab struggle against the Israeli aggressors and resolve socio-economic problems.

But Islam can be used in more than just the liberation struggle. Its slogans are also being manipulated by reactionaries to provoke counterrevolutionary revolts. The important thing here is the content of this or that movement.

The use of Islamization from "above" ("elitist Islam") against the people manifested itself in its most concentrated form during the rule of the Egyptian president Sadat. His attitude to religion was determined primarily by class- and politics-related factors.

But Sadat in fact underestimated the paradoxes of the effect of religion on social development. The reliance on conservative Muslim quarters for a while helped him carry through anti-left policies against those opposed to dropping Egypt's socialist orientation. But attempts to win the confidence of Western capital by setting up a pro-Western regime meant curtailing the role of Islam in the nation's life. The "Westernization," carried out in Egypt, inevitably led to increased social disparity, which ran counter to Muslim egalitarian principles. Sadat's affected piety against the background of luxury in which he and his entourage lived, on the one hand, and the stark poverty of the workers, on the other, intensified the resentment of the common people. The protest on the part of the Egyptian people was sparked off by the Camp David collusion, which they took as a national humiliation and the "worst sin before Allah." Sadat's "Islamic card" was eventually beaten because he failed to break out of the vicious circle he himself had created.

Islamization military-style

Islamization "from above," though temporarily ensuring the support of certain sections of the population and the clergy for the ruling quarters, is incapable of resolving political and socio-economic issues as, to all intents and purposes, it sweeps them under the carpet. The same is evidenced by the policies pursued by the Pakistani regime under Zia ul-Haq. "The total Islamization of society" is Islamabad's major slogan. This concept includes such elements as the introduction of Muslim tithes, the cancellation of interest rates on credit, the enforcement of medieval punishments for various offences, etc. In its essence, the policy of "Islamization military-style" implies the strengthening of the alliance between the military and the reactionary clergy, and the desire to lean on the authority of the Koran in order to nip any dissent in the bud. Identifying the regime with the religion, its leaders label any anti-government move as anti-Islamic.

But the Islamization of Pakistani politics has failed to stabilize the internal situation. To some extent, the problems Zia ul-Haq is now facing are similar to those Sadat encountered. The situation in Pakistan could explode at any moment. Increasingly large sections of the population are joining in the struggle for a just distribution of the national wealth and normal living standards, and opposing public flogging, American interference, the presence in the country of anti-Afghan counterrevolutionary gangs of thugs and training centres for Sikh terrorists.

The attempts to carry out the Islamization of socio-political life are concealing Zia's intention to retain his position in the context of a growing struggle for national and social liberation, and put obstacles in the way of progressive ideas, especially communist ideas.

Shiite militia in West Beirut demonstrate for Islamization in Lebanon.
Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

Along the extremist path

Diverse methods are used in the drive of Islamic fundamentalism to assert as a political and state institution. Islamic extremists seeking the establishment of Islamic forms of government by means of political and armed violence are becoming increasingly active.

Among the extremist organizations currently operating in the Arab countries, the most active in recent years have been the pro-Iranian Shiite factions in Lebanon. The major factor for converting the masses to Islam lies in the troubles and hardships besetting the deprived sections of the population. For them, the war years have meant misfortune, the loss of relatives, and ruin.

Here the Israeli aggression started in 1982 had a role to play. It went with economic expansion and repression in the south of Lebanon, which is populated predominantly by Shiite Muslims. Another concomitant factor was that the Christian phalangists wanted to take advantage of the Israeli intervention and consolidate their dominant position.

The impact of the revolution in Iran should also be considered here. Coming to power in February 1979, the Shiite clergy of Iran promulgated the doctrine of exporting the "Islamic revolution".

Teheran is looking upon war-torn Lebanon as one of the most suitable channels through which to export the "Islamic revolution." According to Iran's reasoning, Lebanon is a Muslim country where, under the confessional system dominating there, the Shiites, comprising a considerable part of the population (about a third of the country's total population, or approximately a million people), do not enjoy full political and economic rights. Hence the need to "help rectify the historical injustice" by remodelling the country "after the Muslim pattern."

The religious rhetoric here, however, conceals political calculations: given the weakened government in Lebanon, to consolidate Iran's influence in the country, while also taking into account the territorial proximity of Lebanon to Israel. The aim is to step up the struggle against the Zionist state and, flying the flag of this struggle, in which all Arab and many Muslim nations are involved to a certain extent, to spread the "Islamic revolution" to a large part of the Third World. That is why the extremists, acting in the spirit of Teheran's advanced concept of "total war by the Muslim nations against the Zionist formation in Palestine," object to any prospects for the stabilization of the situation on the Lebanese-Israeli border, oppose the relevant U.N. resolutions and are fighting not only against the Israelis, but also against the U.N. temporary forces in the south of Lebanon.

Revolution for export

The Lebanese Shiites acclaimed the revolution in Iran, where the Shiite branch of Islam is the state religion. The revolution inspired them, enhanced the prestige of the Shiite community, and stimulated the struggle both against the Israeli aggressors and for their political and economic rights. But as a result of the purposeful propaganda on the part of Teheran, the ultra-right pro-Iranian faction known as the Amal Islamic Movement has broken away from the moderate Lebanese Shiite organization known as Amal headed by Nabih Berry. "The Party of Allah" (Hizballah) has also been founded. The members of these organizations are particularly keen on such features of Shiite doctrine as the idea of sacrifice "for the sake of Islam" and striving for martyrdom.

The major objective pursued by these factions is to set up an "Islamic state" in Lebanon.

The Lebanese weekly Ash-Shiraa describes Hizballah as an "offshoot of the Islamic Iranian revolution, striving to impose similar structures on the whole Muslim world." Understandably, in the context of the religious pluralism in Lebanon, this project is not winning favour from broad sections of the population, including most Muslims.

Moreover, the activity of Islamic extremists is seriously threatening the unity of the patriotic forces, and splitting the anti-imperialist movement into religious factions. Great damage to the common cause is being inflicted by the opposition, both ideological and armed, of fanatics to the progressive forces in Lebanon (they call the Lebanese Communist party an "enemy of god").

Capitalizing on the activities of the Muslim fanatics who frequently employ terrorist methods, bourgeois propaganda is spreading allegations about the purely Muslim or even purely Shiite nature of the resistance to the occupiers. These are actually attempts to denigrade the anti-imperialist movement deeply rooted in the people.

The upsurge of Islamic extremism and religious and ethnical splits in the Arab ranks bring grist to Tel Aviv's mill and are made wide use of. Naturally, it suits the occupiers when the Muslim Brotherhood launch their campaigns against the left-wing Palestinians, branding them as "factions that have departed from Islam and are trying to impose their will on Muslims."

Incidentally, the occupiers are encouraging conflict between the factions. It is indicative that in Israeli jails the Palestinians are only allowed to read books by the Muslim Brotherhood. The leaders of the Palestinian organizations are having to admit that the activity of Muslim extremists in the occupied territories is damaging to the PLO, and that the "role of these factions... consists in undermining the national patriotic (Palestinian) organizations."

Hizballah has declared Jihad, holy war, on the U.N. Security Council Resolution of July 1987 calling for an end to the Iran-Iraq war. Who but the real enemies of the Muslim peoples stand to gain from the fratricidal conflict?

■

New light on the Franco mutiny

The archive documents that have become available recently once again prove that the victory of the Franco-led rebels half a century ago was possible thanks not only to the help secretly given them by Hitler and Mussolini but also to the "neutral" stance taken towards the Nationalists by Western "democracies" - Britain and France. Subsequently, this stance by Britain and France helped nazi Germany effect anschluss with Austria, arrange the Munich deal, occupy Czechoslovakia and Poland, and invade the Soviet Union. But it all began in Spain.

In July of 1936 a group of reactionary generals raised a revolt against the lawfully elected government of Spain. Their troops were redeployed from North Africa by German and Italian transport aircraft. One of the leaders of the putsch, the future dictator Francisco Franco, was flown from the Canary Islands, where he commanded a garrison, on board a private English plane.

None of this, however, brought the Nationalists victory.

By the end of the first week of fighting Franco's troops found themselves in a desperate situation.

In a dispatch dated July 25, 1936, a Counsellor at the German embassy in Madrid, Schwendemann, wrote that the developoment of the situation from the outset of the revolt clearly demonstrated the growing strength and successes of the government, and stagnation and disorganiozation among the rebels....The members of the red militia, he said, were full of combat enthusiasm and were fighting with exceptional courage and suffering corresponding losses. These losses, however, were easily offset by reserves from the population, while the rebels, with only their own troops at their disposal, had, as a rule, little to fall back on. For these reasons, he continued, without unforeseen developments, the coup was unlikely to succeed.

But "unforeseen" developments did occur: the intervention of Hitler himself and others in the leadership of the German Reich. On the very day when the above dispatch was sent off to Berlin, the Fuehrer called a meeting in which Goering, Canaris and other nazis participated. It was there that it was decided to render unconditional aid to the rebels and do everything possible for the establishment of Franco's dictatorship.

Subsequently, during the Nuremberg trial of the chief war criminals, Goering would say that he had advised Hitler to help Franco.

He said that this was done, firstly, in order to prevent communism coming to power in the region, and, secondly, to use the opportunity to test German aviation technically.

The Fuehrer agreed with Goering's reasoning and gave his approval to German intervention in the Spanish Civil War.

The value of German and Italian military deliveries to Franco's fascists was no less than a thousand million dollars. A total of roughly 300,000 foreign soldiers fought against the republic; among them no fewer than 50,000 Germans, 150,000 Italians, 20,000 Portuguese, groups of fascists from other European countries, and about 90,000 Moroccans.

In order to justify their actions and in the hope of attracting new followers, the fascists resorted to misinformation. In August 1936 they disseminated false "documents" purporting to confirm that on May 16, 1936, a meeting of representatives of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, France and Spain had been held in Valencia. From these "documents" it followed that a plan had been adopted at this meeting to establish Soviet power in Spain and France. Despite the patent absurdity of such affirmations, the forgeries played their part: many years later, after World War II, this misinformation was repeatedly resorted to by American propaganda.

It was not only Germany and Italy that rendered aid to the rebels. On the initiative of England and France a committee on non-intervention in Spanish affairs was set up: it consisted of representatives of 27 countries. However, it soon became clear that this was in fact an attempt to camouflage the aid received by the rebels. Large quantities of arms and ammunition were delivered to them, particularly by English and French firms. At the same time, the French stopped selling arms to the lawful government of Spain, thus violating the trade agreement signed by the two countries in December 1935. Franco likewise received no mean aid from American firms: from them the enemies of the lawful government received more than three quarters of the fuel they needed.

In all fairness, it should be noted that President Franklin Roosevelt did not by any means sympathize with the fascists. He openly disapproved of the support American firms were giving them. Later Franco was to complain to his cousin, Lieutenant General Francisco Franco Salgado-Araujo, that the Democratic Party at that time in power in the U.S., had failed to understand the reason for the revolt in Spain, and subsequently "did not see that our victory was a victory over international communism."

In fact, the Caudillo was fighting not against "international communism," but against his own people. The Soviet Union helped the lawful government of Spain, with which normal diplomatic relations were maintained. From October 1936 to January 1939, the U.S.S.R. delivered 60 armoured cars, 347 tanks, 648 aircraft, 1,186 ordnance pieces, 20,486 machine guns and 497,813 rifles to Spain. Approximately 3,000 Soviet volunteers fought and worked in Spain - military advisers, pilots, tankmen, seamen and technical experts. About 200 Soviet citizens died in action.

The Soviet government, defining the duties of advisers in Spain in a letter to the Spanish government dated October 21, 1936, emphasized that "they had been categorically enjoined to bear in mind that, notwithstanding their complete awareness of the solidarity that at present permeated relations between the Spanish and Soviet peoples, a Soviet

specialist, as a foreigner in Spain, could be of real use only on condition that he confined himself strictly to the duties of an adviser and only of an adviser."

In the international brigades, the Spanish Loyalists had on their side anti-fascists from 54 countries (among them were 8,500 Frenchmen, about 5,000 Germans, 5,000 Poles, 4,000 Italians, 2,000 Britons, 2,000 Czechs, approximately the same number of Austrians, and about a thousand Hungarians). But the core of the army was, of course, made up of Spaniards.

Ruined houses and thousands of homeless people were left in the wake of the fascist offensive.

Photo from Dolores Ibarruri's book "The Struggle."

A prominent figure in the British Conservative Party, future Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who sympathized with Franco, spoke with great cynicism of the events beyond the Pyrenees.

He said that when he read that a significant number of German nazis and Italian fascists were going to Spain for the purpose of destroying a great many Russian Bolsheviks and French Communists he deplored this. However, when he asked his heart, he could not help but feel that if all these armed tourists in Spain destroyed each other so completely that there remained nobody but representatives of the press to tell us about it, then the interests and security of Great Britain would, in large measure, be provided for.

The Tory cynicism did not go by unnoticed. Goering examined Britain's position in a talk with Mussolini in January 1937. The record of this talk says that Goering declared that conservative circles were disturbed by Germany's power, but that most of all they were afraid of Bolshevism, and that it was thus possible to look upon them as being effectively ready to collaborate with Germany.

In the same year the British let the fascists understand where their sympathies lay. In August-September Italian submarines sunk two Soviet vessels, the Timiryazev and the Blagoyev shipping cargo to the Spanish anti-fascists. On September 12, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, Neurath, instructed his chargé d'affaires in Rome to inform the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs personally that according to a statement by the British ambassador in Berlin the British had intercepted and decoded radio telegrams sent by Italian submarines operating in the Mediterranean.

British diplomacy was, as it were, warning the Italians to be more careful, for at just that time, September 10-14, an international conference was taking place in Nyon, Switzerland; it had been specially convened to discuss the situation in the Mediterranean in connection with the sinking of civil ships by "unidentified" submarines. Representatives of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France and other countries participated in it. Italy and Germany refused to attend.

By various means London and Paris attempted to destroy the lawfully elected government of Spain and have it replaced by a "provisional government" naturally, with the participation of Franco's fascists. The idea of the British and French leaders was that this government would act under foreign control. Virtually, this amounted to a demand that the anti-fascists surrender without a struggle, and hand over the management of the country to circles, acceptable to the U.S., Britain and France, as well as to the fascist regimes of Germany and Italy.

Blinded by anti-Sovietism, the British and French governments were calculating on directing the fascist aggression solely against the East. At a conference in London on September 18, 1938, they decided to satisfy Hitler's demand that Czechoslovakia be dismembered. The shameful Munich conference was held on September 29-30. The British and French partners in the deal did not exclude the possibility of reaching a broader agreement on the fate of Europe and the world on an anti-Soviet, anti-communist basis. This is evidenced by the record of the talk between the German and French Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Joachim Ribbentrop and Georges Bonnet held on December 6, 1938, several weeks after the Munich conference.

The record says that Bonnet, speaking of the Spanish question, asked the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs for his opinion on the matter....Von Ribbentrop emphasized that Germany favoured Franco. This followed from the principled anti-Bolshevist position of the Reich... Bonnet assured him that the French government was likewise absolutely opposed to Bolshevism and that it also had nothing at all against a victory by Franco.

By the end of the Civil War the Hitlerites were so certain of the favourable attitude of the French government to Franco that they seriously discussed the possibility of a tripartite collaboration between Germany, France and Franco's Spain. On February 1, 1939, Kampe, the Counsellor at the German embassy in France, wrote to his ministry in Berlin that if they worked together with Franco's fascists,

Germany and France might supplement each other. Germany, he continued, offered the Franco government friendly relations, its technical personnel already in Spain, and the German organizations existing in Spain; France might give, for these purposes, long-term credits in hard currency and, if necessary, manpower.

Britain and France recognized the Franco government on February 27, 1939, even before the end of the Civil War. France appointed as her ambassador to Spain Marshall Pétain, an old friend of Franco and the future head of the profascist Vichy regime.

Spain lay in ruins. As computed by the well-known Spanish economist and public figure Ramon Tamames, the war cost the country a sum equal to six state budgets (in 1935 prices). The economy had fallen into decay. The precise number of human losses was never established. The figures cited by different authors oscillate between 500,000 and a million lives. However, the "most terrifying aspect of the Spanish war," holds Amando de Miguel, a well-known sociologist, "was the terror that followed the end of the military operations." During one year alone - from April 1939 to March 1940 - the fascists executed something like 100,000 people. Another two million were thrown to prisons and concentration camps.

ANATOLY KRASIKOV

THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

IAKOV PETERS' REPORT
THE THREADS LEAD TO FOREIGN CONSULATES
THE CHEKA STRIKES
"A HAIR'S BREADTH FROM DEATH"
HOW THE "RED TERROR" BEGAN

July 1918 brought more trials for the young Soviet state. The short breathing spell won at the beginning of the year proved to be a period of sharp internal perturbations. Below is the description of this period given by Nadezhda Krupskaya:

"It was a difficult time. The bourgeoisie, which had lost everything in the great proletarian revolution, sought help abroad: today it took money to organize uprisings, tomorrow, it would call for help from the German troops, ready to abandon the plundered population to their mercy, and swinging from one orientation to another. The Germans helped the White Finns and occupied the Ukraine, the Turks went to the aid of the Azerbaijanian Mussavatists and the Georgian Mensheviks, the Germans occupied the Crimea, the British occupied the Murman region, the allies helped the Czechoslovaks and the right Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) to sever Siberia from the central gubernias...."

Yes, it was indeed a difficult time. On June 27 British troops landed in Murmansk. On July 1 trainloads of Whiteguards, mustered by the French mission, were stopped in Moscow. On July 6 the Left SRs assassinated the German Ambassador Wilhelm Mirbach with the object of provoking a conflict with Germany.

The same day a Left SR uprising broke out in the capital. In Simbirsk the commander-in-chief of the front, Mikhail Muravyev, betrayed the revolution. Anti-Soviet disturbances erupted on July 6-8 in Yaroslavl, Rybinsk and Murom, engineered by Boris Savinkov's "Committee to Save the Fatherland and Revolution." An orgy of terror began: in Yaroslavl the leaders of the gubernia authority were brutally murdered, and more than 200 Soviet activists were sent to their death on a river barge.

Today the inner connection between all these events is clear. But at the time the newly formed Soviet security bodies were daily faced with new, previously unknown facts. The revelation of the existence of Savinkov's "Committee to Save the Fatherland," for instance. Here is how it happened. In May 1918 a Red Cross nurse came to the commander of the Latvian rifle regiment guarding the Kremlin and told him she had learned from a former military school cadet, who was hiding in the Iversky hospital in the guise of a patient, that a secret organization was plotting an uprising in Moscow. The regimental commander reported this to the Cheka, where Iakov Peters, vice-chairman of the Cheka, took charge of the case. The cadet was placed under surveillance, and on May 29 a group of Cheka men led by Peters took the plotters by surprise.

Far more serious, however, was another conspiracy which subsequently came to be known (inaccurately) as the three ambassadors conspiracy.

Peters' report

The hitherto unpublished report (filed as Case No. 114037) by Iakov Peters, a member of the Party from 1904, and a faithful comrade-in-arms of Felix Dzerzhinsky, on the exposure of a major conspiracy against the Soviet power was written close on the heels of the events. A great deal was brought to light later. In the report there are some inaccuracies as regards names, and also some stylistic flaws, but history itself comes to life on its pages. As if to confirm its authenticity, Peters included in it his own testimony given to Viktor Kingissepp, member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee:

"Around the 10th of August, 1918, Comrade Berzin, commander of the First Latvian Heavy Artillery Battery, came to see me at home and told me that agents of the British mission had approached him with the proposal that while remaining at his present post he make use of his position to work for the British.

"After consulting Comrade Dzerzhinsky, I advised Comrade Berzin not to reject the British offer, to remain in contact with them and keep the Cheka informed.

"All Berzin's information is completely reliable and has been confirmed by all the means of verification at our disposal.

"Berzin's trustworthiness is beyond question.

I. Peters."

There could indeed be no doubt about the trustworthiness of the courageous commander. Nor could there be any doubt as to the efficacy of the measures taken by the Cheka to provide cover for its emissary. When Eduard Berzin met Robert Bruce Lockhart, the experienced British intelligence agents who had checked up on him were satisfied that he could be trusted. Berzin was then given an assignment projected at the **"overthrow of Soviet power, the occupation of Moscow by British troops and the establishment of a military dictatorship."** He received the assignment directly from Lockhart who headed the special British mission in Moscow (formally he was not the ambassador since Britain had not recognized the Soviets and Sir George Buchanan, the former British ambassador to Russia, had left the country).

Berzin's meeting with Lockhart took place on August 14, at 19, Khlebny Lane. The following day, Lockhart introduced him to the French Consul-General in Moscow Grenard and to another man whose name was given as Konstantin. Thus, one of the biggest adventurers of

For the previous instalments see our issues Nos. 33 and 34

LENIN'S SPEECHES TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF MOSCOW IN 1918

March 12

At a meeting of 10,000 people dedicated to the anniversary of the February Revolution, held in the riding house of the former Alexeyevsky military school.

April 23

At a Moscow regional conference of working women.

At a plenary sitting of the Moscow Soviet.

May 1

To a demonstration on Red Square.

At a meeting of the Latvian rifle regiment and Kremlin employees.

May 11

At the oath-taking ceremony of the army units of Zamoskvoretsky district of Moscow.

May 22

In the House of Trade Unions, at the 2nd All-Russia Congress of Commissars of Labour.

June 5

At the fourth session of the

the time, British naval lieutenant Sidney Reilly, who was to play an important role in the conspiracy, entered the scene.

During a meeting with Berzin on Tsvetnoy Boulevard on August 17, Reilly outlined the plan of the conspiracy. Two Latvian regiments were to be sent to Vologda to open the front there to the British. The remaining Latvian forces were to arrest all those present at an All-Russian Central Executive Committee sitting, headed by V.I. Lenin.

As Latvian riflemen Commissar Peterson later recalled (from what Berzin had told him), Reilly particularly stressed that during his arrest, Lenin might succeed in persuading plotters to abandon the scheme. Reilly therefore told Berzin that Lenin should be killed before the Central Executive Committee met. Peterson also recalled that he had personally warned Lenin of the plans and had begged him to be on his guard. Whereupon Lenin had laughed and said: "Exactly like in a novel!"

But, unfortunately, things were far more serious than any novel.

Reilly on the job

Everything appeared to be going smoothly for the plotters: Berzin agreed to everything and eagerly took money from Reilly (according to Peters, Berzin received about 1,200,000 rubles which he turned over to the Cheka treasury). Reilly was confident that complete secrecy had been ensured.

Reilly's career lasted several more years, until the day in the autumn of 1925 when he was arrested by the Cheka in the act of crossing the Soviet frontier. In prison he gave written testimony about the 1918 conspiracy:

"Throughout the entire period from the middle of July to the end of August I worked under the open sky, i.e., I met my agents in the streets, in parks, squares, and boulevards. From them I received reports and information and made arrangements. Once or twice I was nearly caught in the mass raids staged at that time. August 1918 was unusually rainy, which sometimes made my work extremely difficult. Sometimes, for relaxation, I would take a room for an hour or two in the public baths. Towards evening I would go to the flat where I spent the night at the given moment (rarely more than 3 or 4 days in the same flat), where I would go through all the information I had collected."

As regards his contacts with Berzin, Reilly was perfectly at ease:

"Met Colonel Berzin at a flat he had taken specially for the purpose somewhere beyond the Arbat. Usually on my way to meet him, I would change cabs once en route, and on the way back walk to the Arbat (or thereabouts) and there I would take another cab."

And so the conspiracy matured. The Cheka closely followed developments, kept fully informed by Berzin and other sources. Further in his report, Peters wrote:

"Besides the information received from Berzin, the Cheka at the same time was informed that on August 25, 1918, a conference had been held at the American Consul-General's attended by the French Consul-General Grenard, the representative of the British mission Lockhart, the American Consul-General Poole, and several British, French and American officers; that this conference had discussed leaving in Soviet Russia after the departure of representatives of the Entente three agents to direct the espionage and counterrevolutionary organizations; that at this same meeting French officers had shown a blueprint of the Volkhov bridge and announced that they were planning to blow it up."

The Cheka strikes

Little by little a general picture of the web of the conspiracy being secretly hatched unfolded, but much still had to be done to reveal all of its threads."But this work was hampered by the White terror," Peters wrote. He was undoubtedly referring to the attempt on the life of Lenin and the assassination of Uritsky on August 30. Clearly there was no longer any time to lose. On August 31 the British embassy in Petrograd was surrounded and searched (naval attaché Francis Cromey, one of the chief organizers of espionage operations, was killed in the exchange of fire). At the same time arrests and searches among the staff members of the foreign missions in Moscow were made. Lockhart was taken to the Cheka, where he was interrogated by I. Peters, who confronted him with documents exposing his attempts to bribe Berzin. Here is Peters' record:

"Caught in the act, the international imperialist conspirators lost their heads completely. None of the criminals who went through the Cheka presented a more pitiful spectacle of cowardice than Lockhart, representative of the ruler of half the world, Great Britain.

"... Like the miserable coward he was, Lockhart tried to justify himself by saying he acted not of his own free will but on instructions from his government, and that besides himself there were several other British missions operating in Russia."

In his memoirs published in the 1930s Lockhart naturally painted a different image of himself - that of a clever, ingenious man who had skilfully destroyed the evidence against himself he had had on him (by flushing it down the toilet bowl). Peters, however, saw before him an altogether different Lockhart:

"In private conversation he gave the impression of a pitiable creature; several times he actually took up the pen to put down the whole story as it happened. To tell the whole truth about Berzin, and about his own government. Being a miserable careerist, he resembled a donkey standing between two bundles of hay - on the one hand, British and world imperialism, in whose longevity he was beginning to have doubts, and on the other - the new world that was coming into being. And each time he was told about this new world, about its victories and about his, Lockhart's abnormal position in the world he served, he would take up the pen to make a clean breast of it, but after a few minutes, the poor donkey would again reach out for the other bundle and drop the pen."

Peters must be given credit for his gift for graphic description. But at the time, as a Cheka man, he was too occupied in collecting all the data on the conspiracy and nipping it in the bud to indulge in journalistic flourishes.

In early September arrests and house searches were made not only in Petrograd but also in Moscow. Here is the record of one such search:

AFTER THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MOVED THERE FROM PETROGRAD ON MARCH 11

First All-Russia Congress of internationalist teachers.

June 21

At a meeting of workers of Sokolniki district.

At a meeting of 1,500 workers of the Presnya and Butyrsky districts.

July 2

To a meeting of recruits bound for the front, gathered in the former Alexeyevsky military school.

July 5

At the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets.

July 7

Speech delivered on Lubyanka Square to Latvian riflemen headed by Jukums Vacietis, thanking them for the well-organized operation to suppress the Left SR uprising.

July 23

In the House of Trade

"On September 1, 1918, I, as a Cheka Commissar acting on warrant No. 6371, searched the flat of the French citizen Genrikh Vertomon [Henri Verthimont. - Ed.] at 18, Milyutinsky Lane. Found in the course of the search were diverse notes, codes, coded letters and telegrams [in the French language], nearly all sewn into the upholstery of chairs and sofa and also inside suits of clothes. Also found was perexelin [pyroxylin - Ed.] in three coffee tins in quantities of 4 pounds 25 zolotniks each. One tin weighing 5 pounds 73 zolotniks and 39 detonators for dynamite charges. Citizen Vertomon was not arrested since he was not at home and did not appear. Commissar Valter."

Nor was Sidney Reilly arrested then: on learning of what had happened at the British embassy he left at once for Moscow. In his testimony given in 1925, we read:

"On the way from the railway station I bought a copy of the Izvestiya but did not read it, and it was only when I reached the prearranged flat that I opened the newspaper and read that the so-called Lockhart conspiracy had been uncovered. I was in a terrible position. The contacts with my main sources of information were broken and I suddenly found myself hanging in the air. Moreover, I had no idea of the extent of the exposure and who had been taken .... I was completely helpless...."

Reilly took refuge in a brothel, from where he subsequently made his way through Petrograd to Estonia. The third agent of the three powers, an American named Xenophont Kalamatiano, was less fortunate. Peters wrote:

"On September 18, 1918, the arrest was made from ambush outside the former American Consulate-General of one Xenophont Dmitrievich Kalamatiano, living under the name of Sergei Nikolayevich Serpovsky in flat No. 5 belonging to Yekaterina Sergeyevna Kozhina at house No. 8, Tolstovsky Lane. During the search, inside Kalamatiano's cane were found receipts and codes which led to the discovery of the whole counterrevolutionary espionage organization of Anglo-Franco-American imperialism set up for the purpose of overthrowing the worker-peasant government in Russia."

Iakov Peters, vice-chairman of the Cheka.

Eduard Berzin, commander of the Latvian battery.

This sounds more like an episode from some cheap thriller: the self-assured spy with his papers in perfect order, walking along swinging his cane. And suddenly that cane turns out to be a revealing clue! But Peters and his comrades of course were not concerned with such externals. They were intent on following the trial that was to put the lawful authorities in possession of all the evidence about the counterrevolutionary conspiracy, the scope of which was steadily growing. Gradually there emerged a picture of direct interference by the allied powers in the internal affairs of the first workers' and peasants' state.

"The previously exposed counterrevolutionary activities had given us ample evidence of how the allied camp generously rewarded anyone who helped it to fight the Soviet power. We also knew that the allied consulates in Soviet Russia were the headquarters of the counterrevolutionary organizations. Time and again, when tracking down agents of the counterrevolutionary organizations, we found that their traces led to the British and French consulates. The representatives of international capital, taking advantage of their extraterritorial status in the centre of Soviet Russia, were forging new chains of slavery for the Russian workers and peasants."

Hence the Cheka, Peters concluded his report, had decided to submit to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee the proposal that the case be turned over to the Revolutionary Tribunal. The fact that behind the concrete organizers of counterrevolutionary actions were governments hostile to the new system had to be made as widely known as possible.

The Tribunal was in session from November 28 to December 3, 1918. The legal investigation had established that **"the criminal activities of the diplomatic agents of the imperialist governments of the Anglo-Franco-American coalition, which had attempted with the complicity of representatives of the Russian bourgeois counterrevolutionary forces, through the organization of secret agencies for the collection of information of a political and military character, bribery and disorganization of Red Army units, the blowing up of railway bridges, the burning of food stores and, finally, the overthrow of the worker and peasant government and the dastardly murder of the leaders of the working masses, were designed to strike a death blow not only to the Russian but also to the international socialist revolution."**

LENIN'S SPEECHES TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF MOSCOW IN 1918

Unions at a morning session of the Moscow gubernia conference of factory committees and trade unions.

July 26

At a meeting of the workers

people of Presnya district.

At a meeting in the Khamovniki district.

July 29

At a joint session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, the factory committees and trade unions of Moscow.

August 1

To the Warsaw Revolutionary Regiment about to leave for the front.

August 2

To a detachment of agitators from the Moscow Trade Union Council, leaving for the Eastern Front.

Sinister design

"The dastardly murder of the leaders of the working masses." This phrase from the judgement of the Revolutionary Tribunal applied not only to the plans nursed by Lockhart, Reilly, Verthimont, Kalamatiano and their henchmen. It figured in the plans also of groups not directly connected with the "three ambassadors." Therein lay the particular difficulty for the Cheka: the blows were struck from different sides, but so to say, parallel. The battle had to be waged on all fronts, moreover it was not always as easy to achieve such quick results as in the case of Lockhart.

We already know that as early at the end of 1917 the SR leadership considered plans to commit terrorist acts. The SR party, which had lost all contacts with the masses, sank deeper and deeper into the quagmire of terrorism. "The history of the Russian revolution," Lenin said in an interview with a correspondent of the Swedish Folkets Dagblad Politiken, "shows that a party that does not have the support of the mases always resorts to individual terror." Lenin regarded this a sign of the weakness of the counterrevolution, and the weaker the counterrevolutionaries' positions, the more violent and criminal their activities became.

What were the SR militants preoccupied with in 1918?

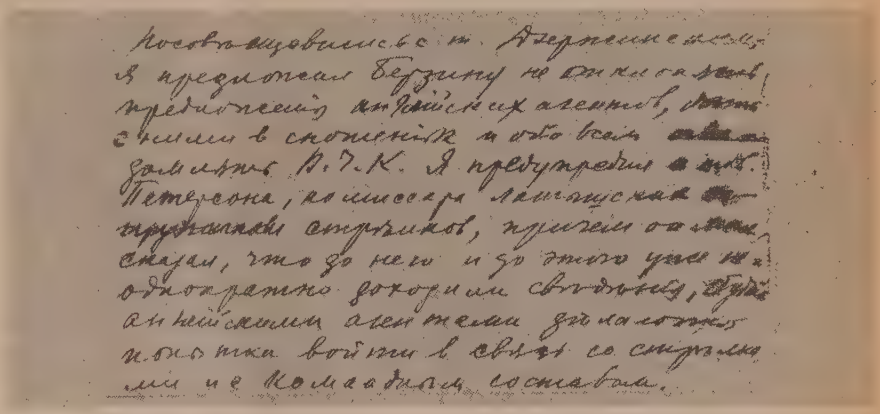
After the failure of Konoplyova's group, the Semyonov group moved from Petrograd to Moscow. Here they watched the movements by car of leading members of the Communist Party. The group had been enlarged, as Semyonov was later to testify:

"Dashevsky [a member of the SR leadership - Ed.] who knew that I was the leader of a terrorist group, informed me that there was another SR group in Moscow which was engaging in terrorist activity independently, without contact with the CC; he suggested that I try to joint with that group, and introduced me to the person who headed it. That was Fanny Kaplan."

By that time the SR leadership felt that the "political situation was sufficiently ripe." Early in August 1918, Kaplan was taken into Semyonov's group. Here is her testimony:

"Since it was technically easier to kill Lenin, we decided to shoot him as he drove away from a meeting. We divided Moscow territorially into four parts, and appointed four executors to carry out the act. A spotter was to be posted at every large meeting. The district executor was to wait somewhere in the vicinity of the meeting, the spotter would pass on the word to the district executor who would carry out the act. The executors were Kaplan, Konoplyova, Kozlov and Usov."

True, when the first executors were appointed difficulties arose. Usov went to the Alexandrovsky People's House where Lenin was to speak, but could not bring himself to shoot. "I did not know where the truth was and so I couldn't fire," he explained to his accomplices.



Facsimile of an excerpt from Peters' report.

Kozlov's nerves too failed him. Usov was taken off the list of executors. Semyonov then distributed the remaining executors among all meetings, including the August 30 meeting at the Mikhelson factory. Novikov, an SR of long standing, and Kaplan, were sent there. At the same time, on August 30, Kozlov was sent to a meeting at the Grain Exchange (in Basmanny district). Later he testified during interrogation:

"I had with me a Spanish Browning. Semyonov had poisoned the bullets."

Kozlov was not able to carry out his assignment, but Kaplan was.

... Medical communiqué No. 1 on the condition of Lenin's health at 23 hours on August 30:

"Two blind bullet wounds have been found, one bullet entering above the left shoulder blade, pierced the thorax, injuring the upper lobe of the lung, causing extravasation to the pleura, and lodged in the right side of the neck above the right bone collar; the other bullet penetrated the left shoulder, fractured the bone and lodged under the skin in the region of the left shoulder; there are symptoms of internal haemorrhage. Pulse 104. The patient is fully conscious. The best surgical specialists have been enlisted in the treatment."

From August 31 to September 18, when the last communiqué, No. 38, appeared, the Soviet land awoke each morning with a feeling of deep anxiety about the state of Lenin's health. His condition in the first few days was serious. "There is no doubt that Lenin's life was in danger," Krupskaya later recalled. "He was a hair's breadth from death."

On the evening of that same August 30 the Central Executive Committee, in a statement signed by Yakov Sverdlov and addressed to the whole country, announced:

"To the attempts on the lives of its leaders, the working class will reply by closing its ranks still tighter, by a relentless mass terror against all the enemies of the revolution."

As regards the terrorists, by decision of the Cheka, Fanny Kaplan and the murderer of Uritsky, the SR and former cadet Victor Kannegiser were executed by firing squad.

(To be concluded)

AFTER THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MOVED THERE FROM PETROGRAD ON MARCH 11

To a joint group of Moscow and Petrograd Communists bound for the Eastern Front.

At a meeting in the Butyrsky district.

At a meeting of Red Armymen.

At a meeting of workers of the former Mikhelson factory.

August 9

At a mass meeting in Sokolniki district.

At a meeting of 6,000 people in Rogozhsky district.

August 23

At a meeting of the Gorodskoy district.

At a meeting in the Presnya district.

August 28

At the First All-Russia Congress on Education.

August 30

At a meeting in the Basmanny district.

In the grenade shop of the former Mikhelson factory.

From monarchy to republic

ALEXEI BUKALOV

According to the local calendar, Ethiopia is just entering the eighties: September 12 marks the beginning of the new year of 1980. It also marks a new stage in the development of the Ethiopian state: the promulgation of a People's Democratic Republic means that the country is passing to constitutional rule.

"We, the working people of Ethiopia, proceeding from the achievements of glorious centuries-old history, are engaged in a great revolutionary struggle for transition from backwardness to progress, and the building of a socialist society that ensures fairness, equality and justice!" These words open the preamble to the country's Constitution submitted to the first session of the National Assembly (parliament) of Ethiopia.

The aged lion

Ethiopia's path to a republican system has been long and arduous. One of the oldest monarchies in the world, Ethiopia seemed destined to have the lion and the crown as its national emblem forever.

When the colonial division of Africa was completed at the beginning of the 20th century, Ethiopia (then called Abyssinia) was the only remaining sovereign state on the continent. Unlike the majority of African peoples, the Ethiopians had had a state system for many centuries. The state was based on efficient military organization. The country achieved its greatest degree of unity under Emperor Menelik II, who at his death in 1913 left the legacy of a centralized feudal state in the Abyssinian Uplands, a state with a strong army and a new permanent capital, Addis Ababa.

Tafari Makonnen, who headed the country as regent, was solemnly crowned as Hailé Selassié I in 1930. The following year, the first Constitution in Ethiopia's history was proclaimed. It established a formal parliamentary monarchy, but in fact consolidated the class dominance of the feudal lords. Hailé Selassié summed up the nature of the new state system in his favourite saying: "The emperor knows what the people need; the people know nothing."

Many contemporary scholars compare the political situation obtaining in Ethiopia at the time with the situation in tsarist Russia. Let us recall Lenin's definition of absolute monarchy: "The autocracy (absolutism, unlimited monarchy) is a form of rule under which all supreme power is wielded wholly and indivisibly by an absolute monarch, the tsar. The tsar issues laws, appoints officials, collects and disburses the national revenues **without any participation by the people in legislation or in control over the administration.**"

The Ethiopian emperor, justifying one of his titles - "neguse negest" ("emperor of emperors") - really wielded absolute power.

The second Ethiopian constitution adopted almost a quarter of a century later (in 1955) proclaimed: "Imperial dignity shall forever remain the privilege of the family of Hailé Selassié I, descendant of emperor Sahle Selassié, direct descendant of the dynasty of Menelik I, son of the Queen of Ethiopia, Queen of Sheba, and of Solomon of Jerusalem.... The person of the Emperor is sacred owing to his imperial blood and to his anointment. His dignity is unassailable and his power cannot be challenged. On the strength of this, he is entitled to all the honours rendered him under the present Constitution. Anyone who dares insult the Emperor is liable to be punished."

Ethiopian Decembrists

Republican ideas had long been germinating in the progressive minds of Ethiopia. At the height of fascist Italy's aggression (1935-41) some Ethiopian guerrilla leaders openly advocated the establishment of a republic.

Ethiopia's postwar history saw several attempts to overthrow Hailé Selassié. The best known among them was the rebellion of Ethiopian Decembrists, a group of soldiers headed by the brothers Mengistu and Girmame Niuay. The mutiny was brutally suppressed in December 1960. Anti-government conspiracies, however, had existed earlier. For example, in 1951 the leaders of a conspiracy hoped to proclaim Ethiopia a republic and even named a future president. He was to be Imru, one of the leaders of the armed struggle against the Italian aggressors. History has its own logic: Imru was invited to be present as a witness at the ceremony of the dethroning of Hailé Selassié on September 12, 1974.

The imperial government was alarmed by the republican "virus." In 1969 the authorities banned the performance of Shakespeare's play, "Julius Caesar" in the Patriotic Theatre in Addis Ababa. An attempt was made to rescue the production: the director was asked to delete the scene of the murder of Caesar. There was a strict ban on the importation of "seditious" literature, which included any books mentioning uprisings and revolutions.

The slow revolution

For many years the emperor had commanded great authority with the majority of Ethiopians and in the world. That was why throughout the summer of 1974 the leadership of the Ethiopian revolution - the Dergue, or the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee, pursued a patient campaign to expose what could never have been made public before: the corruption and crimes of the emperor's regime. The Dergue planned and carried out a series of measures to isolate the monarch politically, measures that prepared public opinion in the country for the dethronement of Hailé Selassié I. An Anglo-American documentary film, "The Secret Famine," about drought victims in the northeastern provinces of

Ethiopia, had an immense emotional impact. The film owed much of its effect to a simple editing device: frames showing the famine victims, and children and old people dying of thirst, alternated with episodes from official court life (hundreds of guests at imperial banquets, eating sumptuous food from gilded dishes).

In a bid to save the monarchy, the "225th descendant of King Solomon" chose the tactic of concessions. In March 1974, after a powerful wave of demonstrations and strikes in February of that year, he promised the country a new constitution. The published draft constitution envisaged the replacement of the absolute monarchy with a constitutional one. But the draft came too late.

The very first decree of the Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia, dated September 12, 1974, suspended the imperial constitution as "diametrically opposed to the present popular movement for economic, political and social reform." Hailé Selassié I listened to the decree of the revolutionary authorities with disdainful surprise. But on the very same day he obediently climbed into a police car and, escorted by his "guard of honour" in jeeps and armoured vehicles, left the imperial palace forever.

The dethronement of the emperor marked a turning point in the development of the Ethiopian revolution. It brought radically-minded military forces to power.

The superannuated monarch died under house arrest a year later. I was told that in his last months Hailé Selassié forgot that he had been dethroned and insisted on being given decrees to sign. A guard put clean sheets of paper in front of him, and the former emperor signed them without looking.

Tactics and strategy of Mengistu Haile Mariam

The popular democratic revolution in Ethiopia, with its original and flexible tactics, served to confirm Lenin's prophetic thesis about "greater distinctions" of revolutionary processes in the countries of the East. Ethiopian revolutionaries advanced along their chosen path of democratic reform step by step. On June 9, 1974, at the height of "dual power," the Dergue launched a patriotic programme "Ethiopia first," which had a tremendous influence on the broad masses of the people, helping to involve them in the revolutionary struggle.

Two months after the overthrow of the emperor, newspapers in Ethiopia published excerpts from the speech of Mengistu Haile Mariam, the leader of the Ethiopian revolution. The editors introduced Mengistu as the man who had masterminded the present movement on the basis of the "Ethiopia first" slogan. They wrote: "He was chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the armed forces, the police and the territorial army until September 12, 1974. An officer of the Third Army Division, Major Mengistu is a man of action who has dedicated his life to the interests of Ethiopia." Time has shown that this description of the Ethiopian leader was correct.

The motto of the national Ethiopian campaign for the elimination of illiteracy: "He who can read and write teaches others, he who cannot, learns to."

On December 20, 1974, the first revolutionary programme was published - the five principles of Ethiopian socialism: equality, self-reliance, respect for labour, precedence of public over personal interests and the territorial integrity of the country. The Proclamation on the Land marked a breakthrough in the elimination of the old system. It proclaimed a land reform on March 4, 1975. "This is a historic experience, and it marks a gigantic advance in the country's life," noted the newspaper The Ethiopian Herald. "Dream has become reality. Land has been proclaimed public property. Thanks to the resolute measures taken by the military government, the disgraceful feudal system under which the parasitic few prospered at the expense of the sweat and blood of the people, is henceforth dead."

I was in Ethiopia during the revolutionary events of 1974-75, and I remember the numerous demonstrations and rallies in support of the land reform that swept the country. "Land to those who till it," proclaimed the banners carried by the crowd. The reform abolished the feudal bondage of the peasants and the archaic and unjust forms of land tenure. It created the prerequisites for the emergence of a cooperative movement in rural areas, and the development of the public sector in agriculture. (Today the country has over 2,000 production and about 4,000 consumer cooperatives, and the Ethiopian Peasants' Association unites more than 5 million peasant families in its 20,000 primary units. Under the three-year economic development plan, Ethiopia is to be self-sufficient in food by 1989.)

In April 1976, the Dergue, which had by that time been renamed the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), adopted the Programme of the national democratic revolution. It proclaimed Ethiopia's course as one of non-capitalist development. A little earlier (in September 1975) the country changed its official name to Socialist Ethiopia.

The Workers' Party of Ethiopia and the "hand of Moscow"

In 1972, New Times published a letter from Mesfin Terefe, a student in Addis Ababa. It read in part: "My fellow students at Hailé Selassié University are greatly interested in studying Marxist-Leninist theory. Unfortunately, we do not have much chance to read Marx, Engels and Lenin. But we are doing everything to master revolutionary philosophy. This knowledge will help us in the struggle for a bright future for our people."

The creation in December 1979 of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia and, in

Mengistu Haile Mariam, leader of the Ethiopian revoluition.

TASS photos

September 1984, of the constitutional congress of the vanguard party were milestones in the emergence of democratic Ethiopia. Here too we see the uniqueness of Ethiopia's experience. While the October revolution in Russia had been prepared and carried out under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working people, the Bolsheviks, in Ethiopia such a vanguard was created after the revolution.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, who was elected General Secretary of the CC of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE), told the congress of the difficulties and victories, the intrigues of reactionaries, and the enemies and friends of the popular government: "The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries... have come out on the side of the Ethiopian revolution, and have rendered us firm support, while international imperialism has unleashed war against us on all fronts, trying, with the backing of reactionary forces, to stem the tide of the revolution and violate the country's territorial integrity. We have reached the present stage, at which we can set up a vanguard party, as a result of the heroic struggle of the Ethiopian revolutionary and popular masses, and thanks to the boundless support of our brothers who are faithful to the principle of proletarian internationalism."

At the present stage, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in Moscow on November 20, 1978, provides a solid foundation for Soviet-Ethiopian relations. A great deal has been written about the traditional solidarity between the peoples of our countries. Its roots go back into the past when the first Russian explorers went to remote Abyssinia.

After the Great October Revolution, interest in the destiny of Ethiopia never flagged. During the fascist aggression, the Soviet Union spoke at the League of Nations in defence of embattled and bleeding Ethiopia. The current practice of close Soviet-Ethiopian contacts echoes those distant and dramatic years.

For Ethiopian revolutionaries, the experience of Soviet Russia proved invaluable in tackling the land and nationalities problems, eliminating cultural backwardness, and repelling the sorties of international reaction. This has been noted by foreign observers. The French paper Le Monde diplomatique has written that Ethiopia is "exerting efforts unprecedented on the African continent in scope and the concern it is showing for the development of national languages, efforts that have much in common with those made in the Soviet Union after the October revolution."

Although Ethiopia is one of the few states with written chronicles going back almost 2,000 years, illiteracy ran at 93 per cent. During the first national campaign to eliminate illiteracy (launched in 1979) that figure dropped to 37.6 per cent. "Learned to read - help another" is one of the most popular slogans in the country. A National Academy of Ethiopian Languages has been formed. The first Tigrigna language dictionary has been published, and a dictionary of the language of the Oromo people is being compiled. All in all, 15 Ethiopian languages are to be given written expression. Ethiopia's achievements in the field of education have been recognized with a UNESCO prize of the International Reading Association and an honorary Krupskaya Diploma.

Cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Workers' Party of Ethiopia is developing in keeping with the programmatic principles of the WPE adopted at its constitutional congress. "The WPE will strengthen unity with the Communist and Workers' parties and links with revolutionary and progressive parties, organizations and fronts, and work for peace, democracy, social progress and socialism," reads the programme. A sense of historical perspective and the desire to draw on the rich treasury of Marxism-Leninism underlies the close ties the Ethiopian revolutionaries maintain with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. This clearly and unambiguously stated community of goals predictably causes anger in the West. Propaganda writings on the Ethiopian theme bristle with familiar clishés: "the export of revolution," "the hand of Moscow."

An exhibit in the National Museum in Addis Ababa is devoted to a little known page in Soviet-Ethiopian relations. It features specimens of local cereals collected here in 1929 by Nikolai Vavilov, the great Soviet scientist. The traditions of cooperation between the biologists of the two countries started by Vavilov have been maintained. In 1977 a Soviet-built phytopathological laboratory was opened in the Ethiopian town of Ambo. Recently an agreement was signed on a joint multipurpose biological expedition. The Soviet Union is assisting Ethiopia in a total of 38 economic development programmes.

The Dergue steps down

The challenges facing the newborn republic are formidable. Ethiopia still has one of the lowest per capita income levels in the world. The so-called "Ogaden war" of 1977-78 unleashed by the Somalian nationalists was a heavy drain on manpower and material resources. The effects of the 1984-85 drought, which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives, are still making themselves felt.

One of the ancient names of Ethiopia was El Habesha ("a mixture of tongues"). In a multinational country (it has 80 peoples) it is important to neutralize centrifugal trends and especially to establish peace in the province of Eritrea.

Democratic Ethiopia is determined to solve the problems it has inherited from the imperial regime. This determination is recorded in the articles of its new constitution.

A million copies of the draft constitution were printed and sent by the Dergue to all towns and villages across the country at the end of last year. On January 23, 1987, the final draft was published, taking into account the results of the popular discussions. On February 1, the first national referendum in the country's history was held. The draft constitution was approved by an overwhelming majority of votes (81 per cent). On June 14, elections were held for the new parliament, the National Assembly.

In these September days,the 835 deputies elected by the people are gathering in Addis Ababa. As they assume their duties they swear an oath whose text has been enshrined in the Constitution: "I pledge to struggle for the freedom and unity of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and to be loyal to socialism; put the interests of the working people before everything; stand guard over the Constitution and the other laws of the country and ensure their observance."

The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has become political reality. A new red-letter day has appeared in the Ethiopian calendar. ■

BUSY WATERWAY

From the Black Sea to the Alps

From our special correspondent

LEV YELIN

From Odessa to Izmail we were flown by a "grasshopper" plane - the AN-2. After an hour and a half of air pockets, and looking through the window at the wings and wondering whether they would stand the strain, suddenly below us, a little to the left, we saw the Danube. And then we landed in Izmail.

No. 55 Suvorov Avenue, which leads to the river, once housed Pushkin (when he visited the town in search of Ovid's grave), and the house next-door, No. 53, was the home of the Bulgarian poet and revolutionary Christo Botev. Almost at the port itself, there is a two-storey building with anchors on either side of the entrance - the premises of the Soviet Danube Shipping Company (SDSC). A new building is now under construction for it: a tall octagonal tower. But in the meantime there is still the comfortable old building.

When the shipping company was formed in 1944, the port consisted of 300 metres of earthen wharfs surrounded by marshland. It employed 500 dockers, 24 coachmen, 7 grooms and 4 saddlers. Not a single mechanizer. Today it is one of the biggest ports in the area, with hundreds of cranes, automatic loaders and electric cars. The Soviet Danube Shipping Company now has more than 1,200 boats, both river and sea craft.

The company handles half the foreign trade shipments between the socialist countries. It also handles commercial orders for all the Danube countries. That was why I made my way to the building on Suvorov Avenue to find the answer to the question, what is required of shipping along the Danube today so that it can serve the interests of all the peoples living on its banks.

Interlighter divides its profits

When, still in Moscow, I called at the Ministry of the Merchant Marine I was advised to get to know the work of Interlighter, the first joint transport company of the CMEA countries. It was founded almost ten years before the Soviet Union decided to develop new forms of economic ties.

...On May 19, 1978, the new international Shipping Company Interlighter was registered at the Hungarian Finance Ministry under the number 1-A-6127. Its members were: the Bulgarian River Shipping Company, the Mahart Shipping Company (Hungary), the Soviet Danube Shipping Company, and the Czechoslovakian Danube Shipping Company. Each contributed an equal share of the assets - 200 lighters with a total tonnage of 215,000 tons, and 1,200 containers. Two ocean-going lighters, the Julius Fucik and the Tibor Szamuely, were chartered from the Soviet Danube Shipping Company. All in all, Interlighter has at its disposal more than a hundred million rubles' worth of its own and chartered boats.

The company is run by a Board made up of representatives of all the member countries. And the body running day-to-day business is the General Directorate in Budapest, with a staff of 65 experts.

Three quarters of the cargoes carried by Interlighter are export-import goods for the member countries. The remaining quarter is made up of goods carried for Austrian, West German, Yugoslav, Romanian, Indian, Pakistani, Vietnamese and Malaysian firms.

The Interlighter Charter stipulates that no binding targets be imposed on the company whether by the country of residence or other countries. Its plans - annual, five-year, and long-term, are drawn up by the General Directorate and approved by the Board. Interlighter is economically independent: it sets its own fees, concludes contracts for the transportation of cargoes, and operates as agents and brokers. Yuri Moshkov, who heads the cost-accounting group of the Soviet Danube Shipping Company, gave this example:

"The company does not have its own repair facilities. So it was decided to grant the Hungarian company Hans Danubius a 100 million forint interest-free loan to develop such facilities. Hans Danubius will pay the loan by repairing our lighters. And in 1988 construction of repair shipyards will begin in Izmail. The SDSC and Interlighter have signed an agreement determining each side's share in the work. The Soviet Danube Shipping Company will build the yards, while part of the cost - 20 million rubles - will be contributed by Interlighter. In the future this will be compensated for by repairs to the Interlighter fleet."

Interlighter's profits are shared out between the member countries. They are tax free. True, profits were paid out this year for the first time. In the past they were ploughed back into the company for development. But now it has accumulated sufficient funds. A charter fund of 65 million transferable rubles has been set up. The clear profits for 1986 have been divided into four parts. Not once in its history has Interlighter required additional contributions from the budgets of the member countries. The company has fully justified itself.

Computerizing the company

The Izmail paper Dunayets often carries a short item listing where the company's ships are. Five or six ships are usually mentioned: one has just left the Bulgarian port of Ruse and is heading for home, another is loading in Reni, yet another is in the Austrian port of Linz. This information is for readers, among whom are the wives, mothers and children of crew members. The same information, but in much greater detail, is needed by the company, because planning work in the ports depends on where a ship is at present and when it will reach its destination.

A call from an Austrian company: "Could you deliver a cargo to?... Awaiting your reply in half an hour." But to answer that question even the most experienced dispatcher has to estimate costs, currency exchange rates, and take into account much other information.... Finally, a decision is taken. Izmail gets in touch with Austria. But time has been lost, and the recorded message they hear is: "Thank you, but we are no longer in need of your services." A possibly profitable deal has been lost.

In order to have a full picture of the work of the Soviet Danube Shipping Company alone, and meet the requirements of the market, an automated system for keeping track of cargoes and ships is essential.

In 1962, a calculating machine station was opened in Izmail - the forerunner of the future computer centre. Gradually it was expanded. Two big computer systems were installed. But the chief of the company's automatic control system, Sergei Basov, hopes for a fully computerized system. He listed its advantages. It would make it possible to forecast the

The introductory article on the Danube expedition see in our issue No. 33.

work of the fleet for a whole month ahead. Nonproductive delays would be cut by 80 per cent, the amount of cargo that could be carried would increase by 5-10 per cent. And all this would improve economic efficiency and boost the company's profits by 7-12 per cent. Basov estimates that a computerized system could be created in 5 years.

What is necessary in concrete terms? Each member should have its own big computer system (no less than a million operations per second). There should also be personal computers to feed in information (at ports, agencies, dispatcher desks, shipping companies), and all of them should be incorporated into a single system.

In the middle of last year, it was decided at a conference of deputy transport ministers of the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia to set up a single computer system for the four countries and Interlighter. By the end of the year, the Soviet side had drafted the first programmes and sent them out to its partners. Now, both in Izmail and at the Moscow Scientific and Technical Management Department of the Soviet Ministry of the Merchant Marine, a reply is awaited. And awaited with impatience. Because at the beginning of the 1990's the Rhine-Main-Danube canal will open, and the fleets of several other West European countries will start operating on the Danube. That means that if Interlighter is to remain competitive, the work of its fleet must be more economical and better organized. And looking further ahead - surely it is in the interests of all the Danube countries to have a common system for traffic along the river. It could be subordinated to, say, the Danube Commission.

The Danube commission

The 1948 Danube Convention opens with the words: "Desiring to ensure freedom of navigation along the Danube, and in keeping with the interests and sovereign rights of the countries on the Danube, as well as in order to strengthen the economic and cultural ties of those countries both with each other and with other countries..." It was signed in Belgrade by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, the U.S.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Yugoslavia. In 1966 Austria joined the convention. This convention answers the interests of all countries that use the Danube: there is freedom of navigation open to all, and no transit duty.

To watch over the observation of the convention, a special body - the Danube Commission - was set up in 1949. It has consultative status at the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, and has an agreement on cooperation with the CMEA. Since 1954 the commission has held its meetings in Budapest.

The drawing up of navigation rules, charts and signs, and of charts of sand bars - all that keeps the commission busy. But Captain Victor Vorontsov, the Soviet expert on the commission, is convinced that it would be wrong to limit its activities to purely technical aspects. The wider its terms of reference the better. Let one organization cope with all the Danube's problems as a whole.

At the April session, Vorontsov said, differences had again cropped up. Do questions of water levels in the Danube or environment protection come within the commission's scope? The Austrian, Yugoslav and Romanian representatives insisted that they did not. The convention makes no mention of such problems. Yet, they are closely linked with navigation. If, for instance, canals are constructed or water for irrigation taken from the Danube without informing the commission,, the river could cease to be navigable.

In 1986, the commission adopted recommendations on preventing the pollution of the Danube's waters by shipping. It set limits on the concentrations of pollutants that could be released by ships, as well as stating the technical requirements for the equipment of ships and ports with waste removal facilities. Owners of vessels guilty of illegal waste disposal should be answerable to the law of the country on the part of the Danube of which the disposal occurred. The commission also called for cooperation in the ecological protection of the Danube, and proposed a programme for joint action.

And again three countries objected. The recommendations were adopted by a majority of only one... Will they be implemented?

In a few years' time, as I have already mentioned, more boats will arrive on the river through the Rhine-Main-Danube canal. In return the Rhine is expecting boats from the lower reaches of the Danube. In time for the opening of the canal the fleet will have to be modernized and brought up to European standards, port facilities improved to make them attractive to Western firms and quality of operations guaranteed.

The ports. I visited two - at opposite ends of the Soviet part of the Danube.

Bulgarians on the left, Yugoslavs on the right

On the 127th kilometre of the river, just before it enters Romania, stands the port of Reni. In one of the old Slavonic languages, "reni" means "landing place." There was a time when the route from the Varangians to the Greeks passed there.

The town is not a large one but each year it plays host to an estimated 17,000 foreign seamen. Reni's plan for 1987 is bigger than that of the giant port of Leningrad. Victor Shelest, the head of Reni port, keeps a reference book with the facts and figures on his desk. Twice I heard Shelest give visitors a buildup of the port, and I realized that at present his whole life is bound up in the port and its future. Instead of the wooden wharf of the Slavs, he is building a superport here, the main one in this part of the Danube.

In the shipping company where Shelest worked (I don't believe it would be ethical to give its name), a poll was taken, as is now the custom, to find out which of several candidates employees wanted to see chief of a major sea port. 90 per cent favoured Shelest....

"Did you agree?"

"No. I was flattered, of course, and sent a telegram of thanks but first I have to finish the construction job at Reni."

The construction of the new part of the port is being carried out by Bulgarian and Yugoslav building workers. The Bulgarians - 150 men from the state firm Transkomplekt - have been busy since last year with the specialized port complex (wharfs and two-way lock system) to be used exclusively for Soviet-Bulgarian trade. This section will be serviced by permanent specialists and one team of dockers. When completed, the complex will greatly speed up the transportation of Bulgarian autocars, Soviet cars and other technical equipment.

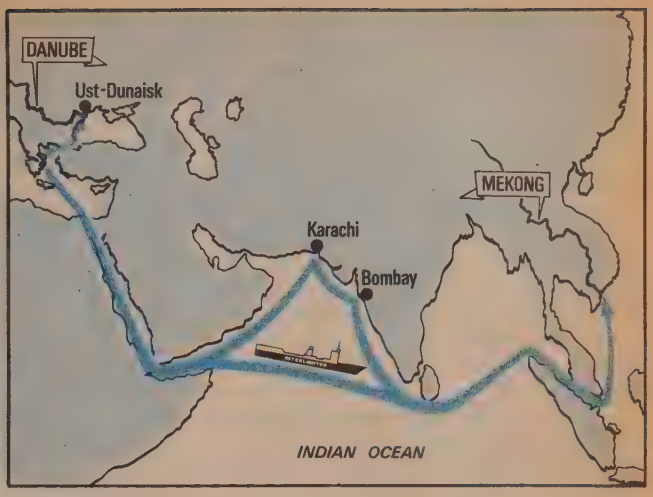
The giant 250-ton Bulgarian crane (and there will also be two conventional portal cranes) will be able to move along rails on piles so that it can stand right over a ship, lift containers from it, and then place them directly on railway cars, as tracks are being laid right next to it. Not a moment will be lost.

"The construction follows a Bulgarian blueprint," chief of the construction job Ivan Ivanov told me. "And the materials used are Bulgarian, delivered down the Danube. The job isn't easy. For instance, we had to build a wall that goes 8 metres down into the waters of the Danube to rest on the river bed. Another 100 workers are expected soon, and by November 25, the job will be completed."

The Bulgarian section occupies the left side of the spit that cuts into the Danube, and forms the border of the "internal lake" of the port. Yugoslavs have been working on the right side since 1983 - about 600 men sent by the firms Ratko Mitrovic and Ivan Milutinovic. The foremost contractor is the firm Generalexport.

The Yugoslavs have completed the first part of the port. Expenses were recouped in three and a half years. Now they are busy on the second part, which lies to the right of the Bulgarian section.

The director of the Generalexport office in Reni, Jovan Vrankovic, is pleased with the contract, and hopes the



Port Reni was founded in 1816. Today it is linked with more than 30 ports on the Danube, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Ships from 25 countries call there. Reni is one of the principal export outlets for Soviet cars.

firm will be given the new contract to build the third part of the port. Building the Reni port was Generalexport's first construction job. Before that, it had concentrated chiefly on financial operations. The experiment proved successful.

Strategic port

If things are more or less clear with the construction of Reni, a big question mark hangs over the future of Ust-Dunaisk....

On the way to Ust-Dunaisk, the other extreme Soviet point on the Danube, our launch stopped off at Vilkovo, a small port on the shores of the Kiliya branch of the river, just 18 kilometres from the Black Sea.

Vilkovo is sometimes called the Ukrainian Venice. It consists of numerous islands crisscrossed by canals, wide ones (one of which, the main "thoroughfare," leads to the Black Sea) and narrow ones where a fishing boat almost grazes the banks with its sides. The boats there are of a special type, with high bows and sterns to withstand the waves in the mouth of the Danube. On both sides of the narrow canals are wooden pavements on piles, in case the level of the waters rises. And the white houses that border the canals are unusual. Their walls are made of reeds reinforced by clay. This ensures good insulation - warm in winter, and cool in summer. Sea shells are scattered around the house to retain moisture.

The young deputy chief of the port, Andrei Ivanov, showed me the new district next to the port, which had been reclaimed metre by metre from the marshes. Blocks of flats and cottages are being built there for the port workers. At some distance I saw a huge mountain of silt. It seems that the Vilkovo port authorities are selling the silt to nearby cooperative farms for a ruble a ton and using the money to finance housebuilding. Silt, after all, is a better fertilizer than any chemical.

But that is probably the only useful property of silt. Otherwise it only causes trouble and headaches. Millions of rubles have to be spent to clear the bed near Vilkovo and the canal that links it with Ust-Dunaisk.

And clearing is not always completed on time. For instance, on April 20, a ship belonging to the Hungarian state company Mahart moored in Vilkovo. Its cargo of metal pellets from India for the Dunaujvaros steel works was quickly reloaded onto barges. The ship sailed back out to sea, but the barges could not leave for Hungary immediately, as the silt had built up and the depth was insufficient.

It takes only 20 minutes to travel on a launch from Vilkovo to Ust-Dunaisk along the canal dug ten years ago. But the canal was blocked by a dredger, and that meant a roundabout trip. Later I learned that lighters loaded on the Danube also had to use the roundabout route, which took much more time.

The town of Ust-Dunaisk was named as the last point on my trip. But it turned out that no such town existed in the mouth of the Danube. Nor was there a port in the traditional meaning of the word with wharves, warehouses, railway tracks.... Instead of all that, there was only an old liner, the Uritsky, beached not far from the shore, and a huge "hole" dug by a scoop. There were also two floating cranes and four mooring buoys.

The Uritsky was once a luxury passenger liner, and in its empty corridors you can still see photographs of film stars of the 1950s. The dispatcher's office of Ust-Dunaisk now occupies one of its small cabins. It was there I heard a joke told by a foreign seaman: "The Russians are cunning! They've probably built a strategic port under water, while on the surface all you can see is reeds."

Interlighter routes.

The reality, however, is different. Ten years ago the port was planned just as I saw it - to service lighters. But that proved insufficient. What is really needed is a big well-equipped port that would make possible large-scale transport from the Danube to the sea and back. Container ships would be able to take on cargoes delivered by river craft and carry them further to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and India. 100,000-ton vessels carrying ore from Brazil could drop anchor and transfer their cargoes to the river barges.

And the Danube countries - Hungary and Czechoslovakia, for instance - have naval fleets, but no sea ports of their own. A Soviet port at the mouth of the Danube could offer them services. Both sides would stand to gain from such a deal.

Numerous projects exist. Some believe that Ust-Dunaisk should be adapted, despite the marshy lands. Others suggest new locations. But that's as far as it has gone. The Soviet Ministry of the Merchant Marine has since the beginning of the year switched to self-financing, and so far it just has not got the money.

* * *

The Danube is a difficult river. It takes about five years longer to become a captain on a Danube boat than, say, on a Volga boat. Valentin Rudchenko, captain of the Mechanic Jan, told me how depths and sandbars can change, and the river can narrow to a third of its usual width. And then it is only experience and a navigator's sixth sense that tell him: stones lie ahead, or shallows....

A difficult river. Nor is its relationship with people easy: it feeds them, they pollute it, take away its waters.... Numerous problems exist, and they must be solved by all the Danube countries working together.

Izmail - Reni - Vilkovo - Ust-Dunaisk - Moscow

DIALOGUE BETWEEN NT AND READERS

Your letters, forming as they do our direct line of communication with our readers, are the very foundation of our work and the guarantee of its success. Nor would we be far from the truth in saying that the most interesting topics on the pages of New Times have been prompted by readers' letters. So we quite justly regard you all as our main correspondents.

We are living in good times. Perestroika, glasnost, the broadening of socialist democracy - all positive changes in Soviet society - have increased, and incomparably so - the number of letters received by the magazine.

We are all for expanding our direct ties with readers. This issue does not as yet consist entirely of readers' questions. Nevertheless today we can already talk about a great deal. By we, I mean the staff of the department of news and letters, and of other departments.

What do people write to us about? What questions do they ask? What have they to tell us?

GIVE MORE SPACE TO TAKING UP A POINT. IT'S ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING FEATURES IN YOUR MAGAZINE, AND IT HAS BECOME PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT AT THIS TIME OF PERESTROIKA AND GLASNOST.

MOISEI TZUKERNIK
Zagorsk, U.S.S.R.

WHY NOT DEVOTE A WHOLE ISSUE TO READERS' QUESTIONS AND YOUR ANSWERS? THAT WOULD BE SO INTERESTING.

EDWARDA WRUBLEWSKA
Lodz, Poland

JUDGING FROM THE CHANGES IN YOUR MAGAZINE PERESTROIKA HAS REACHED YOU, TOO. CHANGE, IMPROVE, BUT DON'T GIVE UP TAKING UP A POINT. THAT FEATURE, I BELIEVE, GIVES NEW TIMES ITS IMAGE, AND LINKS IT DIRECTLY WITH ITS READERS.

TATYANA YERMOLAYEVA
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

THE TEAM LOOKS AT THE EDITORIAL MAILBAG

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (I am sure of this) WILL NEVER BE STRUCK OUT OF THE ANNALS OF WORLD HISTORY.

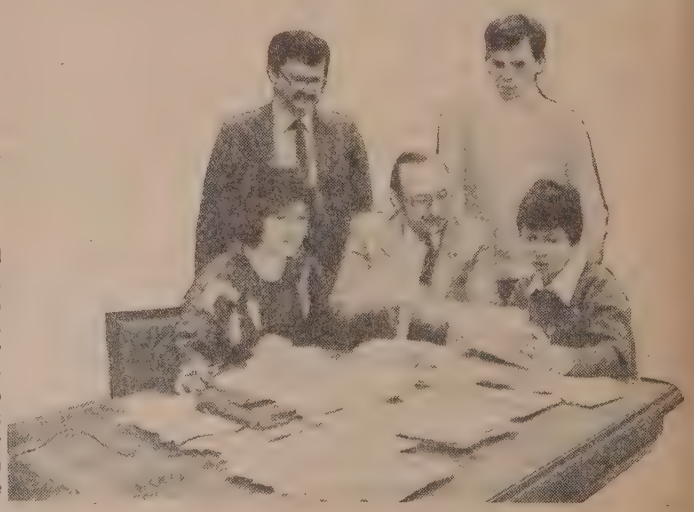
Zhitomirsky. That is not a quotation from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Those are the words of Bessie Beatty, a clear-headed and far-sighted American journalist, who at the birth of our socialist state realized the immensity of the events in Russia. Alfred Ungar, a reader from Romania, recalled her words in a letter to us. In the year of the 70th anniversary of Soviet power, he wrote of the role the October Revolution had played in his life. "My grandfather, a book-binder by trade," he wrote, "travelled to Germany, France and Italy. There he learned something of the ideas of Marx, and was the first to bring back a copy of the Manifesto to our town. It was from our grandfather that we learned of the terrible poverty of workers in different countries, and how they fought it. From him I heard of Lenin and Krupskaya."

The revolution in Russia changed A.E. Ungar's whole life and he chose socialism once and for all.

"My name is Georgy Vasilyev. I am now a pensioner, a veteran of labour. In 1932, responding to the call of the Party and government, I was one of the 6,000 members of the Komsomol mobilized by its Central Committee and sent to build the town of Komsomolsk-on-Amur..."

Galin. Those last-quoted lines remind us of the time of the first five-year plans, when tens, indeed hundreds of thousands of young enthusiasts worked on construction sites in the Urals, the Donbass and the Far East, carrying out Lenin's behest to electrify and industrialize the country's economy.

"Our train, carrying 800 volunteers," Georgy Vasilyev continues, "arrived at the construction site at the beginning of May. We struck camp - in tents and dugouts. Work was in full swing all around us - trees were being uprooted, ground



Here is our team: in the centre -Vladimir Zhitomirsky, head of our department. He graduated from the Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow and the Higher Party School, and worked on Komsomolskaya Pravda and the magazine Journalist. Next to him is Tatyana Firsova, a graduate of Moscow University. She began her career as a journalist with Komsomolskaya Pravda and the magazine Studenchesky Meridian. To the left is Irina Lagunina, who graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations this year. Both Vladimir Galin (left) and Oleg Osipov are career journalists, and both are graduates of Moscow University. V.Galin began his career on the paper Moskovskaya Pravda, while O. Osipov joined our staff this summer.

cleared, foundations dug and laid. Life was very hard, but at my side were my friends: Vasili Sklyarov, Mikhail Borisov, Nikolai Kezhutin, Ivan Matyayev, and a great many others. They were strong lads - the country could rely on them.

"And now the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution is approaching. As one of trail blazers of the Komsomol, I would like to ask: do you remember our accomplishments? The old, like the very young, like a word of praise. Personally, I'm not a good writer. If I had been I would have described, as N. Ostrovsky did, how the steel was tempered and how people who could tackle any difficulty appeared."

"In a few weeks' time the world will mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution," wrote Grzena Swetowa from Czechoslovakia. "I remember the joy with which news of the first Leninist decrees were received in our family - the Decree on Peace and the Decree on the Land. 'People in Russia will live differently now,' my father said. And he proved right. The Soviet Union today is a mighty country with immense prestige in the world."

Firsova. From the French town of Lyons we received an unusual proposal, linked not only with the October Revolution, but also with the French Revolution. L. Faure-Brac writes: "There is a Robespierre Embankment in Leningrad. And a monument to Robespierre was put up in Moscow shortly after the October Revolution, in 1918. But because at that time there were no high-quality building materials the sculpture fell apart. Mark the 200th anniversary of the 1789 revolution," suggests our reader in Lyons, "by re-erecting the monument to Maximilien Robespierre in Moscow...."

Galin. Not all our readers share such views on the October Revolution. Mario Tosi, from the Italian town of Lucca, believes that Soviet society is at present abandoning the basic principles on which it was founded. "After seventy years," he writes, "socialism has led not to communism, but to capitalism. The West need not fear socialism, which is disintegrating. All this is confirmed by the events in Alma Ata, where action by the people was crushed by shots from Katushas, while prisons and Siberia await those who survived..."

Lagunina. I wonder where the Katushas on the streets of the Kazakh capital came from? I'm afraid my compatriots, especially the younger generation, have seen these historic weapons only in films.

Zhitomirsky. Signor Tosi's views are, unfortunately, typical of people who judge events in our country only on the basis of information published by the bourgeois press. Otherwise the provocations of local nationalists would not have been turned into "action by the people." Incidentally, Siberia today is no longer a place of exile, but a land of advanced industry and science.

Firsova. Sad to say Signor Tosi is not the only one to be misled. There are other people too who see Soviet realities in a negative light. But is it only the bourgeois press that is to blame? Perhaps we too are to blame for leaving some things unsaid, and not explaining other things properly. Otherwise there would not have been a letter like Signor Tosi's.

YOUR RESTRUCTURING DRIVE IS GREATLY STIMULATING THE FURTHER ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM.

Zhitomirsky. These words are from the letter of our reader E. Wolfrat from the G.D.R. The revolutionary changes in the Soviet society have aroused interest the world over, writes Jeffrey Grongo, a reader from distant Papua New Guinea, and of course evoked many questions. I think we'll need much more time to explain things.

Lagunina. But New Times has had many articles about the changes. I could cite Yuri Shevchenko's article about the worker and the director of a state farm, the reflections of the economist Gavriil Popov, the interview with the Director of the Institute of Economics Leonid Abalkin, and the article by the playwright Victor Rozov on perestroika in the Soviet theatre. I feel sure the magazine will continue along these lines and write about the complex processes at work in all spheres of our life.

Firsova. I'm holding a batch of letters about perestroika, only a fraction of those we have received. Each one gives its own interpretation of the problems facing our society and the concepts of glasnost and democracy.

Galin. As you see, the views expressed by our readers differ. They range from sober evaluation to doubts and at times even scepticism. But because in the past we so rarely mentioned the impediments to progress, even now just criticism sometimes arouses apprehensions. But in spite of everything glasnost has become firmly rooted in our lives.

The dream of every window-dresser: "I've just instal another two, and then I can report fulfilment of the plan."

Drawing by I. Smirnov

EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS

"The Party Congress has taken place. Decisions have been made. But in our town everything remains the way it was."

A reader from Nizhnekamsk

"Since the 27th CPSU Congress you have been talking about life in your country and discussing your problems very openly."

WINFRIED STOLZE
G.D.R.

"The mixed enterprises that are part of the perestroika are a capitalist whip with a socialist handle. The market and competition will inevitably become the pennyworth of tar that will poison originally good intentions."

ENRICO ZANNI
Italy

"The socialist system has immense advantages over capitalism and can produce brilliant achievements in all fields. What then is hampering the removal of all shortcomings?"

V. AVILOV
Zlatoust, U.S.S.R.

"You journalists have lately begun criticizing the past a lot. But there have been many good things too. Soviet achievements are immense. They could, of course, have been even greater had it not been for the negative aspects you speak of openly today. I am all for your perestroika."

JUAN GOMEZ
Barcelona, Spain

Lagunina. I would like readers to see perestroika as my generation, the younger generation, sees it. We have moved forward. Perhaps not as considerably as we would have liked to. But we have. And we are confident that the rest will also change for the better. That faith and confidence which the younger generation has regained is, in my opinion, a very important achievement of the past few years. It makes it easier to start in life. Believe me, I do not speak from personal experience alone. Take this letter from a 30-year-old lorry driver in Voroshilovgrad A. Dagay: "Perestroika has awoken me from a deep sleep. Glasnost. Criticism. The fight against corruption and alcoholism. Can it really be that all I dreamed of and believed in is now becoming a reality?! That's wonderful!"

Osipov. Many approve of perestroika. But sometimes the post brings sharply critical letters, like this one: "The flow of words," writes E. Korostylev from Magnitogorsk, "is beginning to produce an allergic reaction. Everyone is for perestroika. All 280 million of us. Not a single voice against. Not one. But nothing is moving."

Zhitomirsky. Breaking down old habits and inertia is not easy. They were built up over decades... Some letters leave a bitter taste, when readers cite examples of mismanagement and indifference, shortcomings and miscalculations in the work of their enterprises, unwillingness on the part of some chiefs to introduce advanced technology, the trials and tribulations of inventors waiting years for their inventions to be introduced.

Firsova. Incidentally, only last week we received a letter from Rio de Janeiro. Brazilian reader José Monserrat Neto, writing about his father's tourist trip to the Soviet Union, cites one little incident, insignificant at first glance, but far from being so when you stop to think about it. A tourist from Brazil forgot to pack his shaving things and decided to buy a shaving brush in the hotel stall. The very first time he used it, every hair of the brush fell out. "How can the two things go together," asks Senhor Neto in bewilderment, "the modern space technology you produce for flights to Mars and Venus and such a simple thing as a shaving brush?"

Lagunina. It would be interesting to hear what the makers of the shaving brush have to say. They, of course, did not stop to think that our whole country might be judged by one small brush...

READERS' CONTRIBUTIONS AND COMMENTS

A call to two great powers

It's a great pity that the allied countries, having stopped fascism through their common efforts, are now moving further and further apart as a result of mutual mistrust.... We call on the great powers to put an end to the cold war by signing a historic non-aggression treaty and a treaty on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only.

Today, as never before, dialogue is needed to make it clear that the last full stop must be written and any possiibility of a third world war ruled out.... If war must be waged, let it be a war on the backwardness of many countries, as the causes of inequality continue to exist and Latin America is seeking to free itself once and for all from the shackles of colonialism.... NO! to deceit, abuses and imperialism.

A new system of international cooperation must be established. It is up to the great powers.

Eugenie Hernández CARRENE
Callao, Peru

Is it too much to ask?

I read with interest Geoffrey Howe's article (NT No. 13). If Mr Howe is so interested in Afghanistan, why can't he and his government give a guarantee of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan so that Soviet troops can withdraw? His Prime Minister publicly welcomed an Afghan rebel, knee-deep in the blood of his own people, and gave money for weapons so that more blood could be shed and a solution to the Afghanistan problem be further delayed. It is hard to believe how Western leaders, while condemning terrorism, give money to known terrorist dushmans. Is it too much to ask the West to give a guarantee of non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, so that Soviet troops can withdraw, as the Soviet leader has promised, and Kabul start a government of national reconciliation?

A.Khan NIXON,
Rossendale, Britain

The phenomenon of British elections

Having read the article by Alexander Pumpyansky on the results of the general election in Britain (No.25/87), I should like to share my views on the subject. In my opinion, there also exist a number of global factors that influenced the election campaign and which the author does not mention in his article.

In recent years right-wing parties have come to power in the developed capitalist countries - Federal Republic of Germany, France and Portugal, while the Social-Democrats and Socialists have been pushed into the background. The Communists have lost a significant proportion of their vote. The Tory victory was part of this general trend. There are many reasons for such a state of affairs.

First, the Socialists and Social-Democrats failed to resolve social and economic problems. Their election promises did not correspond to their real possibilities, as has been the case many times before. Hence the electorate's lack of trust in them.

Secondly, the Atlantic community, the TNCs, the ideological institutions in the West were by no means mere onlookers. Their ideological, political and economic pressure on the course of elections in some countries is very great and effective. It takes different forms - ranging from loans, credits, and trade agreements to the direct brainwashing of public opinion. In a sense the election results in Britain can be described as supra-national phenomena.

To this it should be added that the balance of forces between political parties in the West and the mood of the electorate was also affected by the years of stagnation in our society. The press, radio and TV seek to give a distorted image of our society. Reading the British press, one would think that socialism equals lawlessness, the violation of democratic principles, and economic decline. This is presented very ably, with quotations from the Soviet press, while our achievements and the creative aspects of perestroika are ignored. No wonder Neil Kinnock was wary of using the word "socialism." The whole might of propaganda has given the word a negative meaning.

A.A.NIKITIN,
Professor of Astronomy, Leningrad University

When the aggressor robs himself of a future

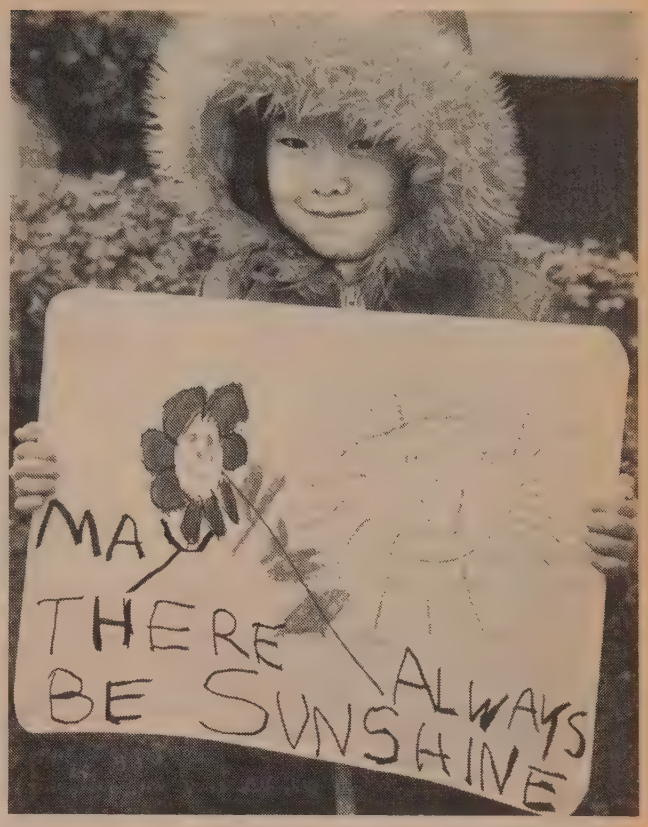
My name is Ronald Schroeder. I am 19 years old and at present am doing my military service. After three years of service I shall begin to study philosophy. For three years I have been an avid reader of New Times. What particularly interested me was your questionnaire: "Is a nuclear-free world possible? And what in your opinion are prerequisites for international stability?" I have the following ideas on the subject: a world free of nuclear weapons can be achieved before the end of this century. The road to it was charted in the Soviet Union's three-stage plan made public in January 1986.

One day the world will be rid of nuclear weapons - that dream gives millions of people new strength to work actively for disarmament. A new situation requires new thinking. At the present level of armaments, any aggressor automatically robs himself of a future. There can no longer be any victors in a war. A new situation has developed. The new thinking is evident in every recent Soviet proposal - and they are more than just proposals. For 18 months the Soviet Union maintained a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing - prolonged 5 times by the Soviet side. The old mode of thinking is evident in the Americans' undermining of the ABM Treaty, their departure from the SALT-2 agreement, their continuation of nuclear tests in Nevada, and their clinging to SDI.

Comprehensive control over the observation of these treaties will form the basis for international stability. Reductions in weapons reduce mistrust. A world free of nuclear weapons will be an important step towards universal disarmament. It is a difficult struggle, but by uniting its efforts mankind will win - and will have won itself a future.

Ronald SCHROEDER
G.D.R.

READER'S CONTRIBUTION



"May there always be sunshine."

Photo by Ronald Schleyer from Minneapolis, U.S.

READER'S SATIRE

There'll be no time for minor auto repairs

I'm a professional musician, writer, farmer, husband and father. I'm also concerned about our world and whether or not it will be here for our children. Call me a naive optimist, if you like, but I feel that lasting peace between East and West will come through kinship (the idea of mutual understanding doesn't disturb my sleep like the idea of mutual destruction does).

My hope is that the short articles I've enclosed in my letter can be published in your country so the Russian people can get to know the Americans on non-official terms, to understand our hopes, our dreams, to know how we feel about events that affect our future - be it a new Air Force One for the President or a new plough for my tractor.

From the editors. Below we publish one of the articles, entitled "In the event of nuclear war, one can't be bothered with minor auto repairs":

Since President Reagan is getting himself a new Air Force One - a Boeing 747 to be used, like its pedecessor, as his official taxi, and to stand ready to whisk him and other top officials off the ground during the prelude to nuclear destruction - I wonder if he would send us a new front tire (size P225/75B15) for our truck so that in the event that our country is asked to step outside we would be able to run from the end of the world in a reasonably safe fashion.

Around our house we haven't talked much about the "what ifs," but we need to. Every household needs a plan - a list of "things to load in the event of war," printed on white paper and stuck to the refrigerator door by way of an elephant-shaped magnet.

The President, I'm sure, already has his bag packed and waiting on board just in case. It's probably stuffed with the bare requirements: a shaving kit, a Geiger counter, clean socks (black) and extra shirts (no starch). And hidden in a false bottom of his satchel, an unopened pack of white handkerchiefs - they can sometimes come in handy during wartime.

I can see him on that dreadful day, standing at his ship's door, looking like Noah, checking his list as people clamor to get on board. "Let me see... we've got a President and a first lady, two secret service men, a pilot and a copilot, and two senators and two representatives (a male and female of each)....

I've packed nothing yet and doubt if I will. The back of my truck is too dirty to store a suitcase of clean clothes in anyway. I've used it too many times to haul manure to the garden or dirt to refill the old well.

This well, with its squared sides carved in red clay, would've been a good start toward a fallout shelter. We decided instead to fill it with dirt and plant roses in it.

But I have gone as far as making a mental list of things to take: the peas we canned last summer, shoes (boots instead of slippers), aspirin (in case we get the sniffles), clothes (overalls instead of dress pants). We'd need peanut butter and a hammer, a hurricane lamp and a loaf of bread, a hacksaw and the 0.22 rifle, the photo album and the grandfather clock, my Harper's magazine and the bug spray, a Boy Scout Manual and two dry sticks. We'd also need both beds because our 3-year-old likes to sleep by himself now.

But, in these days, with the art of warfare advanced to the point where ruination can be on top of you before you know it, I doubt if we'll have time to load anything - no time to feed the geese, no time to water the roses. So I think we'll just stay home.

Besides, the right front tire on my truck keeps leaking, and the last thing a man needs when he's barreling out the door is to come face to face with a saggy tire - especially when he's busy trying to save his family from the end of the world!

Billy BLACKMAN
Florida, U.S.A.

I read your "Taking up a point" (NT 30/87) - "Let us sort things out." In replying to the reader, the following aspect was overlooked. As I see it, at the time of Argentine's deliberate attempt to capture the Falkland islands in 1982, the fascist junta was in power and there existed a massive repressive system in which thousands of people lost their lives and torture was commonplace. The fascist government needed its military venture to distract attention from the crisis in the country and strengthen its shaky position. So I maintain that support for Argentina's military venture is strange at least.

I presume that Comrade Baryshev is perfectly aware of these facts. If he has anything to say in reply, the discussion could perhaps be continued openly in the pages of your highly respected magazine.

Vladimir PETRENKO
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Our staff writer Alexander BARYSHEV replies

"I agree with you, Comrade Petrenko, that in my analysis of the legal aspects of the conflict and the events leading up to it, I did not touch on the aspect you mention. That, however, does not in principle change my assessment of the behaviour of Argentina, Britain and the U.S. in the Malvinas (Falkland) conflict. It is essential to differentiate between the internal and external causes of the acute aggravation of the problem. They are closely intertwined.

The armed action to establish Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falkland) islands was indeed a blatant attempt on the part of the military authorities to distract the attention of the Argentine people from domestic problems and thus try to extricate itself from the political crisis. But does that make Argentina's demands for the return of the islands any less just? Of course not!

In the eyes of the Argentine people, the country's conflict with Britain, which received the support of the U.S. and the NATO countries, acquired a genuinely anti-colonial and anti-imperialist significance. The defence of national sovereignty merged with the struggle of the democratic forces and working class against the pro-imperialist course of social and economic development imposed on the country by the military regime.

During the Malvinas crisis the activity and independence of the Argentine working class increased sharply. So in those specific circumstances support for Argentina, despite our political and ideological differences with its government was a matter of justice. Not for nothing did most Communist and Workers' parties of the world, including Communists in Britain and Argentina, express solidarity with Argentina and condemn Britain. ■

What difference, if any, is there between the gross domestic product and the gross national product?

Y. SIMONIN
Novosibirsk, U.S.S.R.

Economic staff member Felix GORYUNOV replies

THE GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP) is the total value of all goods and services **produced** in a country over a certain period of time (usually a year). In international statistics, the GDP is the main index used for assessing the social product.

Using the figures for the absolute value and dynamics of the GDP, trends in the development of national economies are analyzed, the economic might and levels of development of countries are compared, and their production structure is assessed. GDP figures are also used to analyze the state of the economy in capitalist countries.

THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP) is the total value of all goods and services at the **disposal** of a country over a certain period. So the GNP reflects the results of the functioning not only of the national economy, but also of its foreign trade.

To obtain the GNP, from the value of the GDP one subtracts profits received by foreign companies on the country's territory and adds the profits of national companies from investments abroad. Since a considerable proportion of the goods and services used by a capitalist country are brought in from abroad in exchange for its own products, the value of the GNP depends greatly on the terms of exchange, i.e., on the movement of prices of exported and imported goods and services.

In order to be able to compare the GDP and GNP of different countries, the figures given in national currencies are also expressed in a single currency, usually U.S. dollars. In this case it is necessary to take variations in exchange rates into account.

Changes in prices and fluctuations in exchange rates, which reflect inflation processes and the instability of the capitalist currency system, reduce the value of such comparisons. That is why economists seeking a more correct overall picture use two sets of figures in current and in constant prices and exchange rates.

GDP of ten leading capitalist countries in 1986

	In current prices and exchange rates - 1986 1,000 mill. dollars	% % to U.S. GDP	In 1980 unchanged prices and exchange rates	% % to U.S. GDP
1. United States	4167	100	3117	100
2. Japan	1959	47	1310	42
3. Federal Germany	890	21.4	890	28.6
4. France	705	16.9	707	22.7
5. Great Britain	545	13.1	599	19.2
6. Italy	504	12.1	425	13.6
7. Canada	359	8.6	308	9.9
8. Spain	227	5.5	234	7.5
9. Netherlands	171	4.3	178	5.7
10. Australia	161	4.1	171	5.5

AN UNUSUAL LETTER

At times our post brings us verses, short stories and even readers' articles on subjects as far from our magazine's theme as chemistry and physics. Recently the editorial office received an unusual manuscript. What was it? A short story? Undoubtedly. And it seemed to show talent.

Twenty-three-year-old lorry driver Dmitry Bakin has done his military service, but he has not seen Tarkovski's film "The Sacrifice," the film director's last film which he made in Sweden....Nor has he read the last novel - a warning - by Leonid Leonov (apart from the excerpt published by Pravda, no one has read it)....So why the amazing coincidences? Not in the little things, but in the overall tenor. In his perception of the world. The perception of a man who throws out a challenge to the darkness moving on him and carefully arranges everything for his last act of Resistance. It is perhaps the tense atmosphere of the nuclear age as it approaches its climax....

As a rule, we do not publish short stories. But today we have decided to make an exception.

ARMS

DMITRY BAKIN

First he burned all his books, paintings, prints and photographs, believing that they would distract him or simply be in his way, when the siege started. That took a whole day, not because there were many of them, but because they burned so slowly. The leather bindings and gilt frames made him feel desperate. He stood before the fireplace in a long brown dressing gown and slippers with holes in the toes and brooded over how very little time he had left, how very little. He watched as the flames seemed to choke over the leather, exactly as a dog chokes over a fragment of bone stuck in its throat. The flames seemed to avoid the gilt frames as if they were water, and he thought - perhaps they are not made of wood, or if they are, they are covered with a thick layer of clay that has turned to stone. The paintings themselves had burnt up quite a while ago. Finally, the leather bindings crumbled to ashes, and the gilt frames flared up as if fired by his burning eyes. Only then did he fall back into an armchair, utterly exhausted and with the feeling that he had fallen from a great height, as God would have done if he had fallen to Earth. He felt heavy, with no energy left for all that remained to be done.

When he felt his strength return, there was a storm outside. He walked out onto the terrace, looked at the woods and thought: if they come now that will be the end and there will be no need to burn anything else.

He tried not to think about that.

Then he thought: if they use artillery, tanks and self-propelled vehicles to raze to the ground all that had symbolized the world from time immemorial, he would be helpless. That brought on a wave of despair even greater than when he had thought the leather bindings and gilt frames would not burn.

He tried not to think of such a possibility.

And then it occurred to him: what if they bring in aircraft? They would destroy him and everything around for thousands of miles.

But then he said: they won't use tanks against me, they won't bring in aircraft. That would be tantamount to using a ship equipped for nuclear warfare to cut a medusa with its screw.

He tried not to think about that.

He walked into the bedroom, opened the wardrobe and took out his old military uniform and camouflage cloak, which was of use only on a sunlit lawn. Under the bed he found a clothes brush, held it under the tap and carefully cleaned his uniform and heavy metal-heeled boots. Then he undressed and had a cold shower. He changed into his uniform and put on his boots, so heavy that they seemed to chain him to the floor. Over his uniform he put on his camouflage cloak and began to feel like a tree that was about to walk. Gradually he got so used to his boots, so used to moving slowly that he no longer noticed the slowness, and believed that tortoises lived so long because they moved slowly. He thought: I have to think as slowly as I move, otherwise I will die inside more quickly than outside. In addition, I have to slow down the movement of my blood - there will be less wear, as there will be less friction. I have to reduce the rate of my heart beat, because a hammer used for thousands of nails wears out more quickly than that used for only one. I have to slow down my thoughts to the rhythm of a pendulum - that's the whole secret.

He fell asleep in the armchair long after midnight, and awoke at noon to find himself thinking about tanks and aircraft. He noticed that when he thought about tanks and aircraft his hands and feet trembled, his hair began to fall out, his eyesight became blurred and his brain seemed paralysed. And he understood that if one thought constantly of tanks and aircraft, one's life would last no longer than that of a butterfly. Then he thought - I've been in their hands for a long time. He listened and sighed deeply. It was quiet all around, but he remembered that death could come noiselessly: he stopped eating and

ADVICE FOR NEW TIMES

The first thing that strikes a Japanese reader is the changing covers. Japanese readers are used to consistency. If you use photos, then there must be a photo on the cover every time, and if drawings - then it must always be drawings.

Hisao Komodo,
President of Nisso Tosho, Japan

What I like most is your "Thinking aloud." The only thing is that the thinking is done by famous or well-known people. Of course the articles by Bovin, Eskivel and Goldanski are relevant. But why aren't there any ordinary people, not famous people, among the authors?

Andrei Belokurov,
Komsomolsk-on-Amur, U.S.S.R.

I find many articles by foreign authors in your magazine. It would be nice if they also included representatives of third world countries.

Sunday E. Ekemenah,
Nigeria

The journalists writing on world affairs seem to be rather slow in reconstructing their work. The reader has to make conclusions himself. Hence your information should be full and objective.

P.Azimov,
Tashkent, U.S.S.R.

I am a long-standing reader of your magazine. What I like about it is that there is plenty of factual material, a high standard of argument, and profound analysis of events. I welcome your decision to expand it to 48 pages.

Jean-Claude Richard,
Marseilles, France

When quoting other publications, you fail to mention your source, thereby laying yourself open to mistrust and suspicion, and giving hostile people the chance to dismiss even the best articles as "Soviet propaganda."

Walter Winterberg,
Vienna, Austria

I'm glad New Times has become a much more serious magazine in recent years. You need have no fear that the absence of small entertaining items will lose you readers.

I. Zagibin,
Ufa, U.S.S.R.

Please bring back "Postscript." It's nice to be able to relax with a bit of humour after having read the serious articles.

A. Veckman,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

drinking, because everything might have been poisoned, and he realized that he would have to stop sleeping too, because when asleep, one is as helpless as a babe.

He tried not to think about that.

He walked down to the ground floor, and checked that the door was locked and bolted. He decided that they could not enter the house by the door without making a noise, and he checked the shutters on all the windows of the ground and first floors.

Then he remembered the terrace, which looked out on the woods. Deep down he was convinced that they would come from the woods and would first try to take over the large terrace. Now he realized that he had always known that: he had been born blind, deaf and dumb, but he had known for sure that they would come from the woods and first try to take over the large terrace.

He set up two heavy mounted machine guns, and it took him half the day just to get them out on the terrace. He clamped them securely to the floor, using welded steel plates and huge bolts like those on high-voltage pylons, so that the machine guns could not be turned against him, if they succeeded in capturing the terrace. Then he set up a light machine gun in the room next door, just in case the terrace was captured, loading it with explosive bullets with a cross-like cut and another at the tip. He set up light machine guns in every room and released the safety catches so as not to waste time on them later.

He thought of aircraft and tanks again and felt his brain paralyzed by despair.

But then he said: no, they won't move in tanks against me or use aircraft. That would be tantamount to using a ship equipped for nuclear warfare to cut a medusa with its screw.

He stood on the terrace facing the woods between the mounted machine guns, the carriages of which were fixed by steel bolts from left to right, so that the barrels could move horizontally to an angle of thirty degrees. He thought if they advanced on the terrace in spearhead formation, the machine gun on the left should be turned as far to the right as it would go, and he would insert a wedge to hold the trigger, and he himself would stand behind the machine gun on the right, because the one on the right was closer to the door of the room that opened onto the terrace and into which he would retreat. In other words, to their spearhead formation, he would reply with machine gun fire coming from two points - spearhead meets spearhead. But if the sides of the spearhead of machine gun fire are all right, inside there is nothing. So he began counting how many paces separated one machine gun from the other, calculated the angle of the turn of each machine gun, and then the distance to the point where the fire from the machine guns would intersect to form the spearhead. Then he took an axe, walked down the terrace steps to the ground and took a number of calculated paces to a certain point, and there he made an incision in the tree with the axe: that was where the machine gun fire would intersect.

If the enemy's spearhead passed into the section where no fire could reach them, then both machine guns would be useless and he would be forced to retreat into the room behind the terrace, to the light machine gun with the explosive shells, and would fire through the French windows over the railings. In that case, the light machine gun in the room would be more important than the two heavy machine guns installed on the terrace, whose only job was to fell as many men as he could before they passed the tree in which he had made the incision.

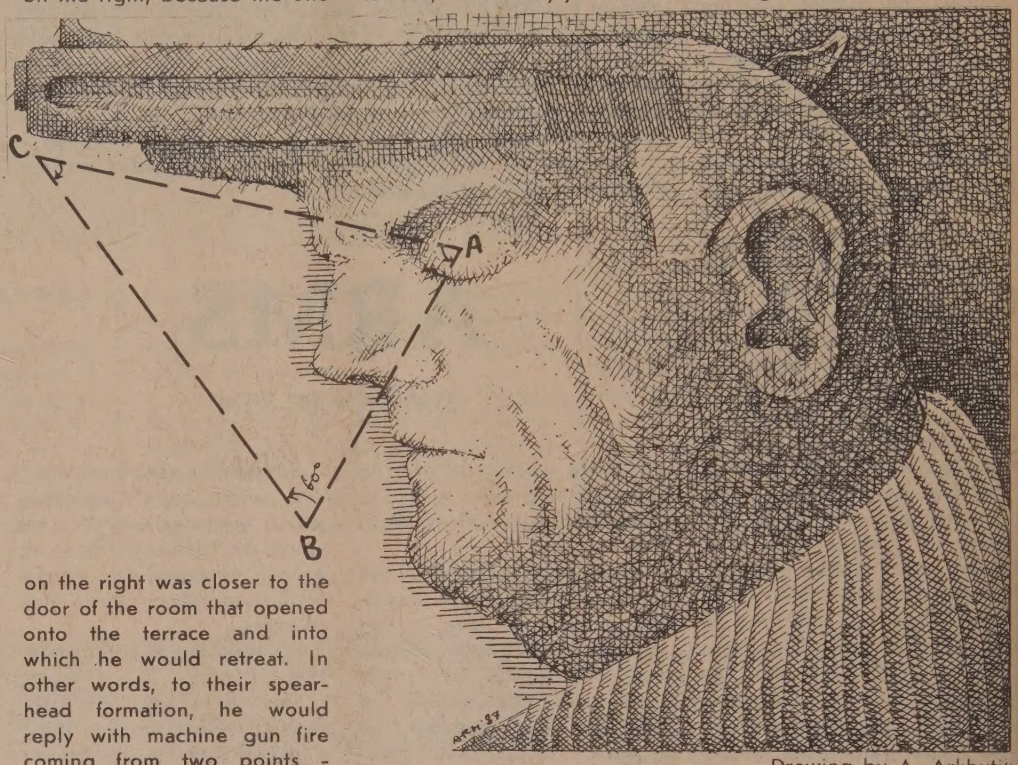
But, he said, they won't advance in spearhead formation.

If they advance in close formation and then surround the house, one of the heavy machine guns, to be exact the one on the left, the unmanned one with the wedged trigger, will to all intents and purposes lose its significance, as it will be easy to avoid its bullets. And if they decide not to capture the terrace right away, then one should expect an attack from the side of the front door, after which they will surround the house, but the terrace can't be deserted either.

He tried not to think about all that, not to think about his hunger and thirst, fully aware that it would be foolish to allow oneself to be poisoned at this stage when he had done all he wanted to do, and it was only necessary to wait....

Once again he walked through all the rooms, checked the machine guns, kissed the barrel of each, then kissed his knife and its blade tinkled like glass.

Using ashes from the fireplace, he drew arrows on the walls designating in advance the route of his retreat from room to room, and thought that route would be right if the defence of the house began from the terrace. Then he drew more arrows on the walls, using dotted lines to mark the route of his retreat if the attack began from the front door and he had to retreat from the hall. Both sets of arrows led to the furthermost corner room, where there was no furniture and there were no machine guns, the room where many years before he had been born.



Drawing by A. Arkhutik

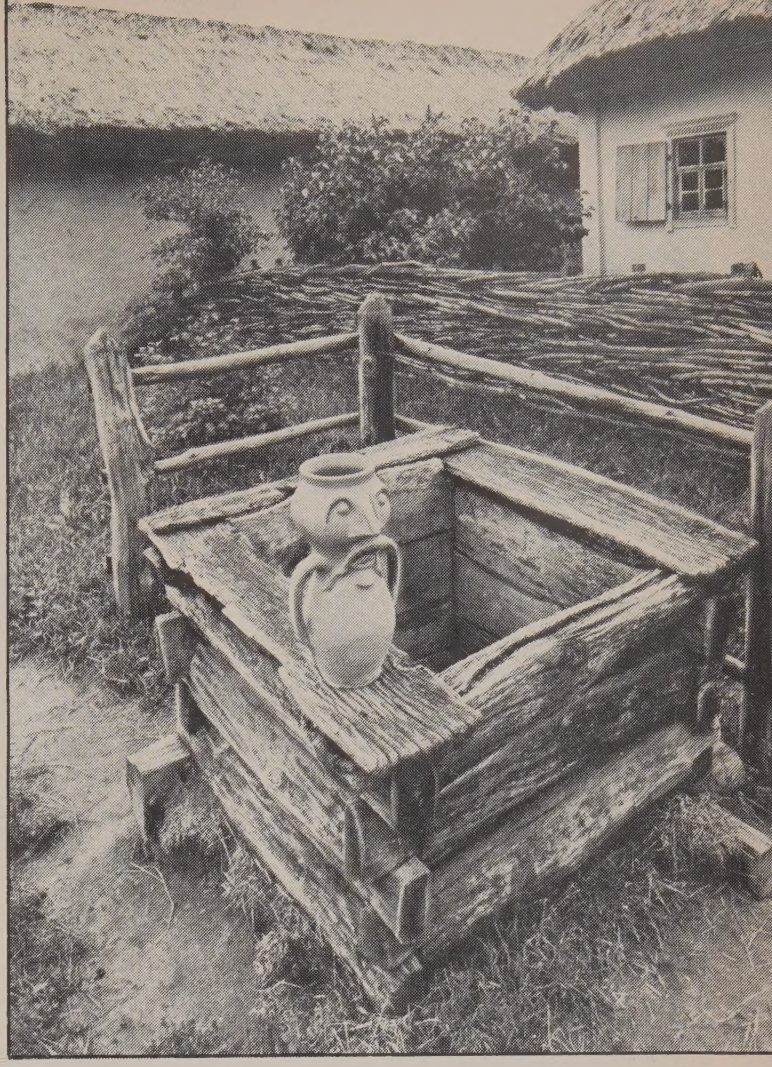
Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Open-air museum

Situated near Kiev, the Ukrainian museum of architecture and everyday life is visited annually by thousands of admirers of traditional architecture.

These windmills, forge shops, chapels and huts once stood on hillocks and meadows along the middle reaches of the Dnieper, and in the Poltava, Polesye and Podolye regions. Some are more than 300 years old, others date from the beginning of this century. They have all been transplanted to the Kiev region and set up to form a picturesque panorama on 150 hectares of land along the Dnieper.



"The dawn"

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

Yuri Mironov (U.S.S.R)

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ